



THE INDEPENDENT

35p (IR 45p)

MONDAY 15 JANUARY 1996

2,883

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QUESTIONS OF SPORT:
£40,000 TO BE WON

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page 11 for token



The hunt for Louise Part of an army of nearly 10,000 volunteers who joined police to hunt for the missing teenager, Louise Smith, at Sodbury Common, Chipping Sodbury, yesterday. Louise, 18, was last seen at a nightclub in Yate, near Bristol, on Christmas Eve. Police said some small finds were made but nothing of great significance. Report, page 2. Photograph: Christopher Jones

NHS accused over mentally ill killers

Inquiry into 39 deaths blames health policy

NICHOLAS TIMMINS
and COLIN BROWN

An inquiry set up by the Government into 39 homicides and 240 suicides involving the mentally ill has produced fierce criticism of the National Health Service.

The report, from the Royal College of Psychiatrists, found many patients who killed or committed suicide had lost contact with the psychiatric services or were refusing to comply with treatment, sometimes because "patients were reacting against an environment or services which they found unacceptable."

Overcrowded wards, excessive disturbance and unsuitable community facilities militated against participation in treatment," the Royal College's report concludes.

Commissioned by Stephen Dorrell, Secretary of State for Health in 1992, when he was the junior health minister, it is a serious indictment yet of Gov-

ernment mental health policy. It follows growing public concern over recent murders by mentally ill including:

■ Christopher Clunis, sent to Rampton after stabbing to death Jonathan Zito at Finsbury Park tube station in 1993.

■ Ben Silcock, a schizophrenic, was seriously mauled at London Zoo after he climbed into the lion enclosure.

■ Wayne Hutchinson, convicted of manslaughter this month after killing two people and wounding three others during a six-day rampage.

■ Martin Murrell, jailed for life 10 days ago after murdering his stepfather and almost killing his mother.

Despite the inquiry's findings of unsatisfactory staffing and accommodation, some consultant psychiatrists "appear to have become inured to inadequate conditions of practice and do not complain through disillusionment," the report says.

Although most in-patient

Out of care

units had their agreed nurse numbers, these were often insufficient for a proper therapeutic environment. "It seems unlikely that effective care can be given in acute wards with over 30 beds and with only three or four staff on duty."

It stresses that "it is unrealistic to expect that every homicide or suicide is preventable" and that staff often felt that both the homicides and suicides had been totally unpredictable. But the inquiry saw instances where

Inside

Mentally ill murderers - the fears and facts, Bringing help home to the sufferers - page 4

loss of contact with patients and poor communication "may have contributed to a death through homicide or suicide."

In a number of the killings, lack of facilities, such as secure beds, had prevented action, despite the patient's potential for violence being recognised.

John Bowis, the junior health minister, said ministers had acted to ensure those at risk were more closely supervised in the community. The Government was now spending more than £2.4bn on mental health services, plus an additional £20m from the new mental health challenge fund.

But he argued that the report showed that "neither homicides nor suicides involving mentally ill people are increasing." Dr William Boyd, the inquiry's director, said the report did not address that issue.

The inquiry found that staff often felt homicide had been totally unpredictable, with no aggression reported in 41 per



Stephen Dorrell: Ordered report

Schools 'need lesson in teaching morals'

JUDITH JUDD
Education Editor

Schools should receive national guidance on how to teach pupils the difference between right and wrong, Dr Nick Tate, the Government's chief curriculum adviser will say today.

Dr Tate is expected to tell a conference of employers, teachers, academics, politicians and trade unionists that tolerance of different values has gone too far and that pupils must be given a firm moral lead.

The death of London headmaster Philip Lawrence, he will suggest, highlights the need for society to support schools in teaching moral and spiritual values.

The good work of schools in encouraging pupils to learn self-discipline and team spirit through sport is undermined by parents on the touchline who abuse referees and the opposing team.

Teachers, Dr Tate will argue, are spending too much time teaching "self-esteem" and too little on traditional moral values.

And he will attack the widespread view that "morality is largely a matter of taste or

opinion" and that there is no such thing as moral error.

The School Curriculum and Assessment Authority, which Dr Tate heads, is inviting proposals for a list of values that schools should teach and society support. "There are some moral matters which should not be called into question," he will say in his speech.

A recent Mori poll showed that nearly half of 15-35-year-olds did not believe there were definite rights and wrongs.

Other research shows that many trainee teachers are so worried about being accused of sexism or racism, that they are unwilling to teach any values at all.

Dr Tate is concerned that personal and social education lessons may be promoting the view that there is no such thing as right and wrong by overemphasising self-esteem. Contro-

versially, he will also ask whether such lessons can be used to boost the two-parent family.

He believes that schools need guidance about what to teach on moral matters because of the decline in religious faith which has weakened the hold of morality and because people have tried to be less judgemental about others' views.

Too many schools are neglecting religious education which is a vital part of moral education, he will argue.

Pupils are ignorant of rules such as the Ten Commandments which used to be taught to children both at school and at home.

Dr Tate blames advertising and the materialism of the consumer for young people's failure to distinguish between morality and taste.

Leading article, page 14

Blair argues for poll on single currency

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES
Political Correspondent

A Labour manifesto commitment to a referendum on a European single currency moved much closer yesterday as Tony Blair, declared there was a "very strong case" for the British people to be given the final say.

While falling just short of an absolute pledge, the Labour leader said: "I don't believe myself that a step of such enormous importance could be properly undertaken unless the people have a chance to make their

"Blair is proposing a politics for grown-ups in place of the infantilism of the Portillos and the Livingstones"

- David Marquand, page 13

views clear. I think that our position... is that there should be the political consent necessary for such a big step."

The remarks in a BBC1 Breakfast with Fros interview will spur Tory supporters of a plebiscite to step up pressure on John Major to convince Cabi-

net opponents, and principally Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, to rally behind a firm promise from Government.

Meanwhile, in the latest round of the battle of ideas over the remit of the "stakeholder" economy, Mr Blair re-emphasised that tackling welfare dependency and unemployment, not a return to corporatism, would be the priority of a future Labour government.

Conceding in the process that the stakeholder theme was more new "slogan" - or "change of culture" - than new policy, Mr Blair insisted that

successful firms were treating themselves as stake-holding enterprises.

"They're saying 'how do we treat employees as partners, rather than simply as factors of production,'" he said. In a counter-attack to last week's claims by Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Blair insisted: "Let me make it clear, I've got no intention of tying companies up in red-tape and bureaucracy and regulation."

He declared in the time-honoured phrase that, as of yesterday, he had "no plans" for a 50 per cent tax rate for the high-

'New Labour needs to proceed cautiously as it puts meat on the bones of the stakeholder idea'

- Gavin Davies, page 17

er paid, while for ordinary taxpayers he wanted to "try and get their tax burden down."

But speaking on the eve of today's Second Reading of the Finance Bill to implement November's Budget, Michael Jack, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, challenged

Labour over its intention to abstain on tax cuts for 25 million people. "The party of opposition has become the party of abstention," Mr Jack mocked.

Brian Mawhinney, the Tory party chairman, attacked Mr Blair's defence of the stakeholding theme as the "greatest example of inadequate memory that I've seen from a senior politician in a long time." Labour was already committed to introducing new burdens on industry such as the European Social Chapter and the minimum wage, he said.

IN BRIEF

New ecstasy victim
A mother warned against taking ecstasy after the drug exposed a weakness in her son's heart and killed him. Page 3

Chechens stay defiant
Chechen rebels holding 100 hostages were given another night to "reconsider their position" after defying all calls to give up yesterday. Page 8



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Cars drive down the aisle and into a row

CHRIS ARNOT

A row over plans to mark the centenary of the birth of the mass-produced motor car is casting a shadow over a service at Coventry Cathedral this week which will be a celebration of the car.

Captains of the British motor industry, arriving on Wednesday for the controversial religious service are likely to come bumper to bumper with victims of road accident.

Road Peace, which campaigns on behalf of those be-

reaved and injured by the car, is planning a silent vigil outside the Cathedral during the service, which they argue will turn the cathedral into a "sanctified car showroom". The centre-piece is expected to be two cars driven down the aisle.

The group's request to lay a wreath in the ruins of the old cathedral has been turned down by the cathedral Provost, Canon John Pety, on the grounds that it would be too "political". While not wishing to impede lawful demonstrations, he has asked them to stay away from

the ruins or elsewhere in the cathedral precincts. "Nor do we feel able to provide any facilities to assist them, as this would be discourteous to those we are welcoming here," he says in a letter to the organisation.

A Road Peace spokeswoman, Brigitte Chaudhry, said: "I think that is discourteous to us... Millions of people have been killed or maimed by the car in the past 100 years. Coventry Cathedral recognised that with a service for traffic victims in 1992. Now it plans to drive two cars up the aisle. I don't think it's appropriate."

Environmental campaigners are also planning to picket the motor centenary service, which will be attended by Prince Michael of Kent. West Midlands Friends of the Earth will also be at the demonstration and has not been appeased by assurances that one of the vehicles to be driven up the aisle will be an electrically powered Peugeot. "Electric cars would lead to an improvement in local emissions, but they would add to pollution around power stations," the senior national campaigner, Roger Higman, said.



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news

Nationalists warn on assembly link

DAVID MCKITTRICK
Ireland Correspondent

Nationalists and republicans in Northern Ireland warned at the weekend against building a new elected assembly into any formula designed to resolve the issue of arms decommissioning.

With the international body examining the issue due to report later this week, Sinn Féin and the SDLP leader, John Hume, both made clear that they were completely opposed to the idea and would almost certainly boycott such an institution.

Their statements follow indications that the body, which is headed by a former US senator, George Mitchell, has been closely studying the idea of such an assembly.

The idea of an assembly appears to be favoured by the British Government, which has reportedly drawn up reports on various types of assembly and how it might be elected.

The idea was put forward by the Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, who held out the prospect of his party sitting in such an institution with Sinn Féin, even if the IRA had not

decommissioned arms. The idea also chimes with suggestions put forward by the Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists and by the moderate Alliance party.

The issue has divided pro-union parties and nationalists along a clear fault-line. The nationalists are clearly anxious to prevent Mr Mitchell and his colleagues from recommending the idea.

The pace of work of the international body quickened rapidly at the weekend, with its report due to be given to the British and Irish governments

on Thursday or Friday of this week. Yesterday its three members again met the Alliance party and the Ulster Democratic party, a fringe grouping linked to the loyalist paramilitary Ulster Defence Association. On Saturday they met the SDLP.

Today they are due to meet the Ulster Unionist party and Northern Ireland Office minister Michael Ancram. They have already met John Major and the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew.

Mr Mitchell said at the weekend that his team had not yet made any decisions or reached

any conclusions. On another front, meanwhile, Sinn Féin is to today due to take part in the first tripartite meeting involving the republicans and the British and Irish governments. This is part of a range of meetings designed to pave the way for eventual all-party negotiations, though these remain dependent on the resolution of the decommissioning issue.

In rejecting an assembly Mr Hume said: "It would turn into a shouting match - we've had it all before." He added: "There is no way we would consider an elected body as a means of starting the dialogue, because it will only make the dialogue much more difficult and make it virtually impossible to reach agreement."

Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams declared: "It's a non-runner. This is not 1920, this is 1996. As far as we are concerned, any return to an assembly, or any variation of the proposal, is a stalling or a stringing out of this process."

Marin McGuinness of Sinn Féin added: "We will have absolutely nothing to do with such a body."

However, an opinion poll indicated that Unionist and nationalist voters appeared to take different views from those of their political representatives.

According to the poll, published in the Dublin *Sunday Tribune*, 68 per cent of nationalists agreed with an elected assembly, while only 28 per cent of Unionists thought it a good idea.

The survey also showed a marked difference of opinion on the question of whether the republican and loyalist ceasefires were permanent.

Some 69 per cent of nationalists believed that the truces were, but only 38 per cent of Unionists.

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IN BRIEF

Barclay brothers sue Birt for slander

The Barclay twins, owners of the Ritz hotel and the *Scotsman* and *European* newspapers, are suing John Birt, Director-General of the BBC, in a French court for "public slander".

David and Frederick Barclay claim that an interview with the *Observer* journalist John Sweeney, broadcast by BBC Radio Guernsey and picked up in France, alleged they had "engaged in acts that could be qualified as corruption".

The brothers are suing for public slander under French law and for libel in a British court. They are also suing the *Observer*, which is circulated in France, and Mr Sweeney in a Paris court over an article in the paper which allegedly infringed their privacy.

Serial sex attacker

Police believe three rapes and the attempted abduction of a girl, 14, may be the work of one man. The description of the attacker in all the incidents is similar: a white male, in his early to mid-twenties, 5ft 8in tall with crew-cut hair. Three attacks in the past 10 days were all within a square mile of Chiswick, west London. The three raped women were grabbed as they walked home from Tube stations at night and dragged into gardens.

Offa's Dyke for sale

A section of the historic Offa's Dyke is being offered for sale as part of the disposal of British Coal land. The 100-yard area of earthworks at Rhosyllen, Chwyd, linked to the 177-mile ancient Dyke, is being sold as part of a package of more than 1,000 acres of agricultural land and woodland, properties and farm buildings. Since the sell-off of pits a year ago British Coal has sold non-mining activities worth about £150m, including properties worth £20m.

Bank strike vote

More than 2,000 workers at the Royal Bank of Scotland begin voting today on whether to strike in a dispute over allowances. The Banking, Insurance and Finance Union says the London Allowance of £1,400-£3,450 is worth 20 per cent less than five years ago and should be raised to £1,620-£4,000.

Two die in crash

Two men died and another was seriously injured when a car travelling at up to 100mph on the A4130 near Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, overturned. The driver, 19, and a passenger, 20, were killed instantly when the car veered off the road into woods. Another passenger, 20, was taken to the Royal Berkshire Hospital with serious chest injuries.

Maxwell jury back

The jury returns today for a sixth day of deliberations in the trial of Kevin Maxwell, 36, his brother Ian, 39, and Larry Trachtenberg, 42, a former aide of Robert Maxwell, all accused of defrauding pension funds.

Fleming treasure

A glass laboratory slide kept in a woman's hat box for 20 years is to be auctioned for up to £15,000 at Sotheby's, London. It contains a tiny spore of the original mould which led Sir Alexander Fleming to discover penicillin which saved millions of lives in the Second World War. Diane Huntington, 49, a former medical secretary, was given the slide by a member of Fleming's team.

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Thousands help search for teenager

MICHAEL PRESTAGE

An army of nearly 10,000 volunteers answered a police call to scour countryside in the search for clues to help find teenager Louise Smith, who disappeared after a Christmas Eve outing to a nightclub.

The search, one of the largest of its kind conducted by police, involved painstakingly surveying fields, commons, roadsides and embankments within a two mile radius of Chipping Sodbury, near Bristol.

Detective Superintendent John Newman, who is leading the hunt, said: "People of all ages and from all walks of life have turned up in a marvellous gesture by the community. It has been a huge operation for the force but an excellent one."

Volunteers were largely from the Chipping Sodbury and Yate area but others had travelled from further afield including South Wales and Weston-Super-Mare, Avon. Buses brought searchers from South Bristol while clergy had encouraged their congregations to search rather than go to church. Three hundred police officers were joined by off-duty officers.

Among those searching were friends of the missing 18-year-old. A fearful Tracy Anstey, 18, had been at the Spirals nightclub in Yate with Louise on the fateful night.

She said: "Everybody was trying to stop me coming here today because they thought I would be a mess, but at least by being here I feel I am doing something. It is better than just being at home."

The missing girl's father, Robert Smith, aged 49, said he was overwhelmed at the public response. "I knew there would be a lot of people, but I never believed there would be this many. I hope something will come out of all this goodwill."

He said family and friends had rallied round to help them cope since Louise disappeared after leaving the nightclub to walk home. Mr Smith said he was trying to take each day as it came. "We just want our daughter home. We all love and we all miss her terribly. She was an ordinary teenage girl. We are trying not to think the worse."

Searchers were advised to look for clothing or other clues or anything that could be a burial site.

After the five-hour search, police said some small finds had been made, but nothing significant. A number of telephone calls made during the day were being followed up. The search area will now be widened.

A badly burned body found smouldering next to a railway platform was that of a girl, possibly as young as 15, police said yesterday.

The petite, fully clothed, body was found yesterday at the unmanned Burley Park station in Chapel Lane, Leeds. She had 90 per cent burns and has yet to be identified. Police believe the body was set alight after she had died.



Louise Smith: Last seen on Christmas Eve



The sculptor Martin Jennings finishing off the Gulf war memorial at St Paul's Cathedral, which will be unveiled next month. Photograph: Dillon Bryden

MPs to investigate national lottery

A cross-party committee of MPs is to launch an investigation into the National Lottery, it was disclosed yesterday.

News of the review comes amid growing debate about the lottery and calls for the massive jackpot, which hit a record £42m on 6 January, to be capped. The Commons National Heritage Select Committee will conduct the inquiry, its chairman, the Labour

MP Gerald Kaufman, said: "We have decided to conduct an inquiry into the lottery but we have not decided on the scope or when it will take place."

The inquiry is expected to consider the jackpot, the way the cash is shared out among the good causes and the profits made by the lottery operators. Among those who could be called to give evidence are Virginia Bottomley, the National Heritage Secretary, and Camelot chiefs.

Yesterday the Labour Party gave details of its own inquiry into the lottery. Jack Cunningham, party spokesman on national heritage, is to set up an advisory group to examine the lottery and recommend ways a Labour government might improve it. He welcomed news of the select committee's inquiry

and said his own group would start work in the next few days.

Labour will be looking at the management of the lottery, profits made by Camelot, the problem of under-age gambling and the social and economic effects of the lottery.

It will also be studying the impact of the lottery on other parts of the gambling industry such as the pools, the size of the jackpot, the number of prizes and

the mechanisms for distributing lottery profits.

Labour has already said that when Camelot's existing contract to run the lottery expires it should be awarded to a non-profit making organisation.

The winning numbers in last Saturday's lottery draw were 31, 32, 48, 21, 29 and 34. The bonus was 25. No one won the £12.5m jackpot, which will be rolled over to next Saturday.

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Road protesters plant new trees

Campaigners protesting against the Newbury bypass yesterday planted more than 100 new trees on a site cleared by contractors last week.

A number of trees were felled on the Tot Hill site at the southern section of the proposed road last Wednesday and that area was replanted yesterday. Police and Highways Agency officials said they were powerless to stop the planting.

Highways Agency spokeswoman said later: "This will not delay work at all. It is a pity because if the protesters had asked they could have planted the trees in a place where they would have remained. As it is we will just tear them down when the actual construction work starts later on this year."

There was no sign of the contractors at the site yesterday and security guards had been given the weekend off before the

battle of the bypass enters its second week today.

The demonstrators' move came amid reports that the Government was considering stopping benefits payments to the "tree people".

The Department of Transport is thought to be putting pressure on the Department of Social Security to stop the campaigners' dole cheques. Although most of those who oppose the road are in paid employment, some receive social security.

A senior Department of Transport official described "as absurd" the dole payments to the protesters. "It will be a priority to identify these individuals and stop their payments," the official said.

Graham Allen, Labour's transport spokesman, said he was concerned by the apparent "back-door" way of curbing the protests.

'One Nation' plan blocked

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES
Political Correspondent

An attempt by left-of-centre Tories to recapture the "One Nation" political initiative has been stifled after interference by Conservative Central Office.

Tories in the left-wing Macleod Group were planning simultaneously to publish six essays on major political topics, probably in a single binder or a single booklet, in the hope of halting the party's drift to the right. One of the essays, by Quentin Davies, MP for Stamford and Spalding, sets out a strongly argued case for a single European currency and a common defence policy, which are anathema to the Tory right.

Central Office stepped in even before Baroness Thatcher's contemptuous attack last week on One Nation Tories as "no nation" Tories. Twenty-four hours

earlier, Michael Mates, the former Northern Ireland minister who is now one of a team of MPs attached to party chairman Brian Mawhinney, had attempted to warn them off the project. During what one MP called an "agitated" meeting, Mr Mates expressed the view that what would amount to an alternative manifesto could not be contemplated during the current ideological war within the party, and should certainly not deal with Europe.

A meeting of the group this week is now expected to decide to publish the essays individually over a period of time, thus robbing them of some impact.

The humiliating climb-down has incensed some group members, who complain that the party centre-left is again playing by the rules while the right seized the ideological initiative.

Security sensors sniff out potential intruders

A potentially foolproof security system which recognises a person's body odour is being developed by a British electronics company.

The system known as Scentinel is able to sniff out intruders by analysing their BO, which is unique to every individual.

The machine has an electronic nose with sensors which can "smell" the hand of a person trying to enter a secure area. If the smell is wrong and cannot be recognised, the visitor is not allowed through.

The system, designed by technicians at Mastiff Electronics, of Cranleigh, Surrey,

with the help of biochemists at the University of Leeds, should be ready for commercial production in about a year.

Scentinel, expected to sell at between £10,000 and £20,000 per unit, is the latest example of a "biometric" security system.

A "biometric" is a unique physical characteristic or personal trait used to recognise the identity of an individual.

Other biometric security systems already in use involve methods of recognising faces, voices, eyes, fingerprints and signatures.

One of the strangest which is still in the development stage is

a French system for recognising people by the shape of their ears.

The makers of Scentinel claim the body odour system will be virtually foolproof because everyone's smell is genetically unique.

A working prototype has already been produced and shown that the system works.

In the finished model, the hand would either be held on a grid above a row of sensors or placed inside a box within an airstream.

Crucially, it makes no difference if the person has been handling perfume or garlic or

anything else with a strong aroma.

Peter Puttick, research and development manager at Mastiff Electronics, said: "The sensors respond to chemical compounds coming off your skin, but these are not necessarily the ones our noses would respond to."

"We are talking about a group of compounds which are mixed in different ways according to our genetic make-up. The machine recognises these molecules and can tell if the individual is who he says he is."

"Many other biometric techniques are used as an extra

check, but Scentinel would be a high security access system in itself. We think it could have applications in the military or in other areas where security is important, for instance where valuable items are stored."

A review of biometric systems was recently produced by Emma Newham, a technology expert and editor of *Biometric Technology Today*.

She concluded: "Biometrics will not only displace the PIN in established markets, they can provide increased security in many new areas where the PIN, the password and the photo-ID card are not viable."

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Mother's stark warning after ecstasy death

STEVE BOGGAN
Chief Reporter

The mother of a 19-year-old nightclubber yesterday warned young people against taking ecstasy after the drug exposed a weakness in her son's heart and killed him.

Josephine Bouzis wept as she described how her son, Andreas, left home on Friday night to go dancing but never returned. "Everything we have had over the last 19 years has been taken away," she said.

Mr Bouzis collapsed at Club UK in Wandsworth, south London, at 1.40am on Saturday, about 90 minutes after taking one ecstasy tablet stamped with a "bunny" logo. Medically-trained staff at the club tried in vain to revive him.

Yesterday, Detective Chief Superintendent Roger Couzens said a post-mortem examination had revealed a congenital heart defect - a constricted valve - which appeared to have been exacerbated by the drug.

One officer said last night: "It seems he could have gone on for years unaware and lived a normal life, but the drug exposed the condition."

Mrs Bouzis of Friern Barnet, north London, was joined at a press conference by her husband, Tasos, and two of their son's friends, Peter Georgiou, 19, who was with their son when he died, and George Kouras, also 19.

Mrs Bouzis said: "Andreas was our life, our family, our love, our reason to live. On Friday night he went to a club, just as your children may have done. Now he is dead, gone forever. I cannot describe our feelings. "Yesterday, our son had a fu-



Family tragedy: Andreas Bouzis (above), who died after taking an ecstasy tablet. Right: His grieving parents, Josephine and Tasos, who warned young people against taking the drug

ture, he had a life ... Today he is dead. Families and their love are very precious. Ecstasy tablets destroy families."

Peter Georgiou said the pills were bought for £10 each by him, Andreas and a friend. "Due to one ecstasy tablet, costing £10, our best friend has lost his life. Anyone who goes clubbing can understand the pressure to take them but it is

just not worth it," he said. Det Ch Supt Couzens issued a photofit picture of the man who sold the drugs and said he was wearing a chunky woollen sweater and black trousers.

Asked whether a murder charge could follow, he said: "This is being treated as a suspicious death at this stage. This man was put under no pressure to take it. It was taken by him



of his own free will." He said that police had made representations to licensing magistrates in the wake of earlier raids on Club UK in which drugs were seized and arrests made. However, he would not say whether those representations included requests for the club to lose its licence.

Det Ch Supt Couzens also divulged that he and other offi-

cers making inquiries at the club on Saturday night arrested a man and charged him with being in possession of drugs with intent to supply. The two incidents are unrelated, he said.

Mr Bouzis's death came despite the campaign which followed the ecstasy death of Leah Betts, who died in November after taking a tablet at her 18th birthday party. And it coincided

with the release from hospital of Helen Cousins, 19, who lapsed into a coma after taking a pill at a club in Peterborough on New Year's Eve.

Yesterday, Club UK said it had given film from security cameras to police in the hope that it would identify the dealer. Management believe Mr Bouzis took his pill while queuing up outside the club. Gerald

Franklin, a spokesman, said the club had a strenuous anti-drugs policy which included undercover security staff, body searches at the door and closed circuit television. He added: "It is so tragic that a young life has been lost and I sincerely hope that this will serve as a warning to anyone taking drugs that they should think twice about the consequences."

Australia plans to curb use

Sydney (Reuters) - Australia is formulating a plan to crack down on the growing use of ecstasy, which has claimed five lives in the past year, with the latest death last week.

Officials said although the number of deaths was small compared to those from heroin or alcohol, there was a need for more research. "Ecstasy has been widely available since 1988 in Australia and in seven years we had no deaths at all but in the past year we have had five," said Paul Dillon, of the National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre. "All of a sudden this has happened and we need to find out why." A survey indicated 3 per cent of the population had tried ecstasy.

The most recent victim was a social worker, Jacqueline Louch, 37, who died in Adelaide after taking one tablet. But the death that drew most attention was that of a Sydney schoolgirl, Anna Wood, 15, who went into a coma in October after taking ecstasy at a party; she died two days later. Her death prompted a ban by New South Wales on dance promoters using coded images in advertisements for parties with drugs available.

Ecstasy in Australia, which sells for about 60 Australian dollars (£30) a tablet, is mainly smuggled from Amsterdam and London, with only a few backyard chemists making it.

Thai monk admits murder of British backpacker

STEPHEN WINES
Hong Kong

A 25-year-old Buddhist monk and former convict has admitted killing and robbing Johanne Masheder, the 25-year-old British woman from Cheshire who went missing in Thailand in December.

The monk, identified by the police as Yodchart Suephoo, confessed to the police yesterday after Miss Masheder's body was found in a small cave where the monks of the Khawpooon Cave Temple usually throw away dead animals. The cave, a popular place for visitors, is in Kanchanaburi, 80 miles west of Bangkok. The town is a stopping off point for the site of the notorious bridge over the River Kwai, where some 60,000 Allied soldiers died while being forced to build it by the Japanese.

The monk denied raping Miss Masheder, although he admitted raping another Western tourist last year. He said he had killed her by pushing her down



Yodchart Suephoo (left) says he killed Jo Masheder

a ravine. An Australian woman complained that she had been raped by a monk while visiting the cave, alerting the police.

Mr Yodchart told the police he was an amphetamine addict who used the money he stole from Miss Masheder to buy drugs. He has previously spent two years in jail for rape. Like many other former convicts in



Thailand, he joined a monastery following his release. Mr Yodchart is expected to be formally charged today.

Miss Masheder arrived in Thailand on 25 November, shortly after qualifying as a lawyer. Unlike many backpackers making their way round the country, the most popular tourist destination in Asia, she

was met at the airport by the chauffeur of a family friend and taken to stay with him in the up-market Sukamvit area, which is popular with foreign residents.

From there she went to the northern city of Chiang Mai and joined an elephant trekking tour. Travelling further north, she called her parents from a town in the infamous Golden Triangle area and returned to Bangkok on 11 December.

She was last seen on 17 December by the son of a hotel maid who was tipped by her. It is likely that she was killed shortly afterwards when she travelled to Kanchanaburi. Her parents went to Thailand to search for her after she failed to turn up for a family Christmas reunion. Her father has identified her body.

Although there have been a few murders of tourists in Thailand, with a recent murder of a Canadian seeming to be similar to this case, the country has a good record of dealing with tourists who generally have no reason not to feel secure.

Police aid for kidnap Britons

British police negotiators have travelled to Indonesia to help secure the release of four Britons captured by anti-government rebels, the Foreign Office said yesterday.

The three officers from Scotland Yard's international and organised crime branch are understood to be veterans of similar hostage situations in Cambodia and Columbia.

Daniel Start, 21, from London, Bill Oates, 22, from Jeddburgh in the Scottish Borders, Anna McIvor, 21, from Bourne, and Annette van der Kolk, 21, from Fleet, Hampshire, were seized along with three other Europeans and 17 Indonesians by a rebel group seeking independence for the Irian Jaya province.

Nine hostages, all locals, were later released.

The Britons - all Cambridge science graduates - had been living among tribes in one of the world's remotest regions since September while they carried out research into the region's plants and animals.

Meningitis vaccine stocks 'exhausted'

WILL BENNETT

Meningitis vaccine stocks have been drastically reduced by the current scare, forcing the Department of Health to buy extra supplies from abroad as an emergency measure.

Yesterday worried parents in Retford, Nottinghamshire, where there have been two cases of meningitis, were told not to bring their children for vaccination because supplies had run out locally.

But a claim by a spokesman for the North Nottinghamshire Health Authority that supplies of vaccine are exhausted throughout Britain was denied by the Department of Health last night.

The spokesman for the health authority said: "We have carried out 7,000 vaccinations and achieved the reduction in the risk of infection that we intended. All the vaccine in the country has been used up and more is expected in Britain next week for those who have not been vaccinated."

But a spokeswoman for the Department said: "There are still some essential stocks being held in reserve but we will be getting some more as soon as possible. There is not a large amount left which is why we are ordering more."

She could not say what percentage of normal stocks had been used up but agreed that supplies had been "drastically" reduced. She continued: "The new supplies are coming from abroad and we are expecting them in the next couple of days."

In Rotherham, South Yorkshire, where a teenager died from a rare strain of meningitis, 7,000 people, mostly children and teachers, have been vaccinated. Doctors say they are confident they have reduced the risk of another community outbreak.

Christopher Vernon, 17, a pupil at Wales High School, Rotherham, died on Friday and another pupil from the school, Amy Woodman, 14, is recovering after falling into a meningitis-induced coma. Two girls from Retford, have also contracted the disease. They contracted the rare C-strain of the disease, which can be passed on by intimate contact such as kissing.

Health officials believe that the outbreak of meningitis in the Retford and Rotherham areas could be linked to a Christmas roller-skating party. Nigel Clifton, chief executive of North Nottinghamshire Health Authority, said: "The roller-skating party links some of the young people in the Retford and Rotherham areas and it may have been one of the ways in which this outbreak occurred."

Geoff Woodman, Amy's father, said that she went to several parties over the Christmas and New Year period and had probably contracted meningitis at one of them.

He added: "Amy did not go to the roller-skating party, but a lot of the people who did came to our house over Christmas and went to the parties."

Left-wing MPs ignore Scargill party's rallying cry

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES
Political Correspondent

Arthur Scargill's breakaway Socialist Labour Party will turn out to have been still-born, MPs on the Labour left predicted yesterday. Not a single member of the socialist Campaign Group of Labour MPs is even vaguely interested, Alan Simpson, the group's secretary, said.

"Arthur would have been

better advised to go for the England job; that's a job that's going that no one wants," Mr Simpson, MP for Nottingham South, said. "There is no interest on the left of the party."

The same message came from Campaign Group MP Ken Livingstone, who pointed out the absence of a single Labour MP, trade union chief, or Labour council leader at the National Union of Minework-

ers' leader's "goodbye Labour" meeting at a hotel in King's Cross, London, at the weekend.

"Just a small group of supporters and quite frankly a small group of members as well in many cases," Mr Livingstone, MP for Brent East, told GMTV's Sunday programme. "Nobody serious in the Labour Party is going to opt out ..."

Mr Scargill, the sole household name at the meeting, has

already taken his own steps to ensure that the Militant group, expelled by Neil Kinnock from Labour in the 1980s, is excluded from his new organisation, thus ensuring a split in the hard-left even before his party is officially launched on 1 May.

Tony Blair, the Labour leader, conspicuously omitted to urge Mr Scargill to change his mind about tearing up his membership card in his BBC 1

Breakfast with Frost interview yesterday, invoking the deflection as proof that the party had changed, and that "new" Labour in opposition would stay new Labour in government. Mr Scargill declared in an earlier interview that Labour had managed to destroy socialism in the party in a way that even Margaret Thatcher had failed to do, and had embraced "the devil" of capitalism.

But Mr Simpson's prescriptions for the way forward for the left show just how far the mood of the left has changed since the heyday of Britain's best-known class warrior. He said: "There is no right-left division in the party over the desire to have a Labour government. The whole party is clear that in order to change the policies of the country, we have to change the government of the country."

Left-wing MPs vowed to fight their corner from within the party. Mick Chapham, the NCUML sponsored left-of-centre MP for Barnsley West and Penistone and a one-time close colleague of the union president, said it was a tragedy that Mr Scargill was not staying to fight the cause. He added: "The Labour Party is the dominant political force and it is the place where socialists should be."



Arthur Scargill: has taken steps to exclude Militant

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Out of care
On of mind?

Homicides involving psychotics remain constant despite public fears about big cuts in the number of NHS beds and a series of chilling murders, while a pioneering scheme is helping patients in their home environment

Murders by mentally ill 'show no increase'

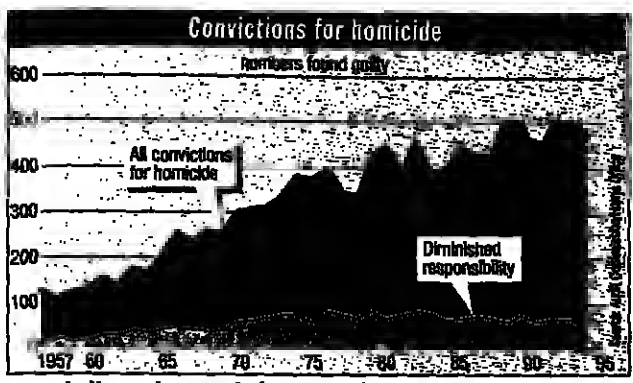
NICHOLAS TIMMINS
Public Policy Editor

Christopher Clunis, John Ross, Paul Gordon, Alan Boland, Stephen Laudat are just some of the names of the mentally ill who have killed in recent years. Ten days ago those of Wayne Hutchinson, a paranoid schizophrenic who killed two people and seriously wounded three others, and of Martin Mursell, who knifed his stepfather to death and almost killed his mother, were added to them.

But despite the catalogue of recent inquiries into homicides by the mentally ill it is far from clear whether the policy of care in the community has increased the number of homicides, or even the risk to the public.

According to the Audit Commission's report on mental health services, "in the last two decades of the community care policy, the number of homicides committed by mentally ill people has not increased, while the number committed by others has more than doubled".

Its conclusion is based on Home Office statistics which



record all murder convictions and those for "section 2 manslaughter" - where the charge is reduced due to diminished responsibility.

Because of the high clear-up rate for murder, the Home Office believes the figures are a fair representation of trends. After rising from 1957 when the plea first became available, numbers have remained broadly constant since the early 1970s as the run down in long-stay beds has accelerated, fluctuating between 60 and something over 100 a year. In the most recent years numbers have declined.

But not all homicides by the mentally ill produce a verdict of diminished responsibility - Mursell did not enter such a plea. Diminished responsibility also covers the mentally handicapped, as well as the mentally ill. And some people convicted of murder also receive psychiatric treatment.

Dr William Boyd, director of the Royal College of Psychiatrists inquiry into homicides and suicides, said the figures are "a quagmire" although "there are no figures which suggest there is an increase in homicides".

Dr Geoff Searle, a consultant

in Bournemouth who is also a spokesman for the Royal College, suspects greater publicity has heightened the sense that the risk now is higher.

"In the past, some of these homicides will have been of one patient by another in long-stay hospitals. When I was at Bellingham in south-west London, one long-stay patient murdered another... but it did not receive much publicity."

But even when there were more long-stay beds, murders still occurred outside hospital.

"The vast majority of the mentally ill have always been cared for outside hospital. Even if we locked up everyone who suffers from psychosis, these things would still happen because we don't know everyone who suffers from psychotic illness."

Most schizophrenics, he argues, are withdrawn, frightened individuals who are at far greater risk of suicide than of violence towards others. "You are far more likely to be killed by lightning than by a wandering lunatic - but we don't go round with lightning conductors bolted to our heads."



Night medication: A patient is given pills on Bewick Ward at Newcastle General Hospital. Photograph: Glynn Griffiths

Schizophrenics who fell through the net while living out in the community

Christopher Clunis: sent to Rampton after stabbing to death Jonathan Zito at Finsbury Park Tube station, north London, in 1993.

Ben Silcock: a schizophrenic who was seriously mauled by a male lion after he climbed into the lions' enclosure at London Zoo.

Wayne Hutchinson: convicted of manslaughter earlier this month after killing two people and wounding three others during a six-day rampage.

Martin Mursell: jailed for life earlier this month after murdering his stepfather and attacking his mother, almost killing her.

NOTICE TO HALIFAX INVESTORS

UK RATES NON-RESIDENT RATES NON-PERSONAL RATES

	GROSS PA	GROSS CAR	NET PA	NET CAR	GROSS PA	GROSS CAR	NET PA	NET CAR	GROSS PA	GROSS CAR	NET PA	NET CAR
SPECIAL RESERVE BOND*	6.50	-	4.75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HALIFAX TESSA 2* Standard rate	5.90	-	-	-	5.90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Matured TESSA*	5.90	-	4.43	-	5.90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BONUS GOLD* (including Bonus)												
\$100,000+	6.05	-	4.54	-	5.90	-	5.65	-	4.24	-	-	-
\$50,000+	5.80	-	4.35	-	5.65	-	5.50	-	4.15	-	-	-
\$25,000+	5.55	-	4.16	-	5.40	-	5.25	-	3.94	-	-	-
\$10,000+	5.30	-	3.98	-	5.15	-	5.10	-	3.83	-	-	-
Monthly Income Option (including Bonus)												
\$100,000+	5.90	6.05	4.43	4.51	5.76	5.90	5.52	5.65	4.14	4.21	-	-
\$50,000+	5.66	5.80	4.25	4.32	5.52	5.65	5.38	5.50	4.04	4.10	-	-
\$25,000+	5.43	5.55	4.07	4.14	5.28	5.40	5.14	5.25	3.86	3.92	-	-
\$10,000+	5.19	5.30	3.89	3.96	5.04	5.15	5.00	5.10	3.75	3.81	-	-
SOLID GOLD*												
\$50,000+	5.20	-	3.90	-	5.05	-	5.00	-	3.75	-	-	-
\$25,000+	4.95	-	3.71	-	4.80	-	4.75	-	3.56	-	-	-
\$10,000+	4.45	-	3.34	-	4.30	-	4.25	-	3.34	-	-	-
\$5,000+	3.70	-	2.78	-	3.55	-	3.60	-	2.70	-	-	-
\$500+	3.45	-	2.59	-	3.30	-	3.30	-	2.48	-	-	-
Monthly Income Option												
\$50,000+	5.08	5.20	3.81	3.88	4.94	5.05	4.89	5.00	3.67	3.73	-	-
\$25,000+	4.84	4.95	3.63	3.69	4.70	4.80	4.65	4.75	3.49	3.54	-	-
\$10,000+	4.56	4.65	3.37	3.42	4.42	4.50	4.36	4.45	3.27	3.32	-	-
\$5,000+	3.64	3.70	2.73	2.79	3.49	3.55	3.54	3.60	2.66	2.69	-	-
\$500+	3.40	3.45	2.55	2.58	3.25	3.30	3.25	3.30	2.44	2.47	-	-
LIQUID GOLD*												
\$25,000+	4.15	-	3.11	-	4.00	-	3.90	-	2.93	-	-	-
\$10,000+	3.75	-	2.81	-	3.60	-	3.60	-	2.70	-	-	-
\$5,000+	3.25	-	2.44	-	3.10	-	3.05	-	2.29	-	-	-
\$2,500+	3.10	-	2.35	-	2.95	-	2.95	-	2.14	-	-	-
\$500+	2.85	-	2.14	-	2.70	-	2.60	-	1.95	-	-	-
ASSET RESERVE CHEQUE ACCOUNT												
\$50,000+	5.25	5.35	3.94	4.00	5.25	5.35	4.65	4.73	3.49	3.53	-	-
\$25,000+	4.95	5.04	3.71	3.77	4.95	5.04	4.20	4.27	3.15	3.19	-	-
\$10,000+	4.60	4.68	3.45	3.49	4.60	4.68	3.95	4.01	2.96	3.00	-	-
\$5,000+	3.90	3.96	2.93	2.96	3.90	3.96	3.65	3.70	2.74	2.77	-	-
YOUNG SAVERS*												
\$50+	3.40	3.43	2.55	2.57	3.40	3.43	-	-	-	-	-	-
MAXIM												
\$2,000+	1.25	1.26	0.94	0.94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$50+	0.65	0.65	0.49	0.49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CARD CASH												
\$50+	0.65	0.65	0.49	0.49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MATURED FUNDS ACCOUNT*												
\$10,000+	4.00	-	3.00	-	4.00	-	4.00	-	3.00	-	-	-
\$2,000+	3.40	-	2.55	-	3.40	-	3.40	-	2.55	-	-	-
Monthly Income												
\$10,000+	3.95	-	2.95	-	3.95	-	3.95	-	2.95	-	-	-
\$2,000+	3.35	-	2.51	-	3.35	-	3.35	-	2.51	-	-	-
TREASURER'S ACCOUNT*												
\$2,500+	4.85	-	3.64	-	-	-	4.85	-	3.64	-	-	-
\$500+	4.30	-	3.23	-	-	-	4.30	-	3.23	-	-	-
\$50+	1.35	-	1.01	-	-	-	1.35	-	1.01	-	-	-
CLOSED ISSUES												
TESSA Gold*												
Including maturity bonus	6.40	-	-	-	6.40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Halifax TESSA*	6.52	-	-	-	6.52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Including maturity bonus	5.90	-	-	-	5.90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Halifax TESSA*	6.70	-	-	-	6.70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paid-Up Share	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.75	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	-
Deposit \$500+	2.50	2.52	1.88	1.89	2.50	2.52	2.50	2.52	1.88	1.89	-	-
\$1+	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.75	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	-	-
Instant Xtra												
\$10,000+	3.35	-	2.51	-	3.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$5,000+	2.85	-	2.14	-	2.85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$2,000+	2.60	-	1.95	-	2.60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
\$500+	2.10	-	1.58	-	2.10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Monthly Savings \$500+												
\$1+	2.50	2.52	1.88	1.89	2.50	2.52	2.50	2.52	1.88	1.89	-	-
7 Day Xtra \$200+												
\$50+	1.10	1.10	0.83	0.83	1.10	1.10	-	-	-	-	-	-
28 Day Xtra \$500+												
\$50+	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.75	1.00	1.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Special Investment Account (1st Issue)												
Special Investment Account (2nd Issue)	3.00	3.02	2.25	2.26	3.00	3.02	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Year Term Share	2.50	2.52	1.88	1.89	2.50	2.52	-	-	-	-	-	-
Subscription Share	2.50	2.52	1.88	1.89	2.50	2.52	-	-	-	-	-	-
Matured Subscription Share	2.50	2.52	1.88	1.89	2.50	2.52	-	-	-	-	-	-

Trinity Road, Halifax

15th January 1996

Sufferers are given a new sense of purpose

James is small, dark, and decidedly twitchy. He cannot sit still to chat but must keep his hands busy: emptying plant pots, refilling them, rearranging fragile cuttings, and all the while maintaining rapid bursts of conversation.

Now in his early thirties, James has lived in Newcastle since his teens, but the soft, melodious accent of the west of Ireland is still strong. He is very bright and can be charming, but is aggressive and defensive by turn as he holds forth on the public's perception of care in the Community.

"People seem to think you have less value to society because you have schizophrenia - some psychiatrists even. Keep them in hospital. But for most of us, it is better out here. My medication has been lowered and I feel much more secure."

James attributes his stability to the horticultural project he attends, creating and maintaining a garden at the Dene, an old people's home in Newcastle. It is one of several innovative ventures for the mentally ill being pioneered in the city.

He spends five days a week there and is conducting his own research to see if horticultural therapy can help in reducing the length of a hospital stay. He believes that if you "keep somebody's mind active" then "there is less time for psychotic episodes".

Dr John O'Grady, a consultant psychiatrist and divisional manager for mental health ser-

Liz Hunt sees how a success 'formula' is being adapted in parts of Newcastle

vices at Newcastle City Health NHS Trust, agrees. Care in the Community for all but the most severely mentally ill is really very simple, he said. "It is about having a home, something meaningful to do, and having contact with someone."

These are the guiding principles behind the services the mental healthcare team are trying to provide in Newcastle. There is the Orange in Longbenton, which provides inpatient care in a non-hospital setting and home psychiatric visits for up to 500 patients each year. The success of this pilot project has been recognised nationally, and locally, the "formula" is being adapted to serve the west end of the city, one of the most deprived areas in the country with a high level of mental illness, according to Dr Suresh Joseph, a consultant psychiatrist at the trust.

The new scheme aims to prioritise people in the community with severe and long-term mental health problems - the group for whom 15 years ago long-term care in an institution was the answer. Whereas previously, the only option for helping patients in a crisis was admission to hospital, there is now an expanded service which came into operation less than

two months ago. "The last thing we want to do is stop hospital admissions for the people who really need it, but we are trying to get away from using hospital just because there is nothing else available," Dr Joseph said.

Now, if a patient is in crisis at the weekend or late at night, there is a Rapid Assessment Service which, once alerted by the GP, social worker, a relative or a neighbour, will conduct a home visit and determine the seriousness of the case.

The community psychiatric nurse will have access to the patient's records and know the background. "Sometimes, all they will need to do is arrange a visit from a friend or neighbour or involve the social services," according to Dr Joseph.

For patients who are ready to move back into the community, there is a partial hospitalisation programme, to ease the transition. A key worker may visit the patient at home for 10 or 12 sessions a week, initially, reducing the visits as he or she adapts to life outside a hospital ward. Finally, the jewel in the crown of the service is the Home Support Project, in which experienced auxiliary nurses visit patients and their families up to three or four times a week.

"It is not perfect but it is a step in the right direction. We are trying to give people a better quality of life in a way that is safe and effective. But it doesn't always have the impact we would like - the problems are just so great," Dr Joseph said.

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ACCOUNT TYPE	PAYMENT METHOD	NEW APR RATES EFFECTIVE FROM 5TH FEBRUARY 1996
BALANCES UP TO £1,000		
CHARGECARD	Direct Debit	24.8%
	Cheque/Cash	26.3%
BUDGETCARD	Direct Debit	24.8%
	Cheque/Cash	24.8%
BALANCES OVER £1,000		
CHARGECARD & BUDGETCARD	Direct Debit	19.9%
	Cheque/Cash	

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Pair face ruin over mortgage dispute

STEVE BOGGAN
Chief Reporter

A couple who made legal history by successfully suing Lloyds bank over bad mortgage advice are back in court tomorrow to defend a counter claim which could bankrupt them.

Despite being awarded £77,500 against the bank last September, Julia Verity and Richard Spindler will end up as losers if the four-day hearing over a disputed £160,000 debt goes against them.

The couple sprang to prominence when Judge Robert Taylor, sitting at the High Court in Leeds, found that their bank manager had been negligent in lending them money to renovate a house in Henley-on-Thames in 1988. They intended to sell the house at a profit but ended up losing thousands when the housing market crashed.

"We hoped that would be the end of it, but the bank seems determined to see us bankrupt," Mr Spindler, 36, said yesterday.

The latest hearing relates to an alleged debt which the couple argue should have been wiped out with last September's judgment but which the bank regards as separate.

Mr Spindler, an acupuncturist, and Mrs Verity, a 55-year-old teacher, each had a house in Henley and were advised to take out a third mortgage to renovate the property at the centre of the dispute.

In 1990, when the couple realised their finances were going seriously awry, Mr Spindler sold his property in Henley for £90,000. At the time, he had an outstanding mortgage of £30,000 and Mrs Verity owed

£60,000 on her home. They assumed that the proceeds would be assigned to those debts but the bank assigned them to the third mortgage instead.

"That means that the bank regards our original mortgages - plus interest - as unpaid," said Mr Spindler. "But if they had used that money to clear our mortgages - as we had wished - then with the court's decision that the third loan was negligent, we wouldn't owe anything."

"Instead of that, they are now coming after us for those mortgages which we wanted clearing in 1990. We won the case in September, but Lloyds have found a way of coming back at us, wanting two bites at the cherry."

If the case goes against Mr Spindler and Mrs Verity and the amount awarded to the bank is greater than the £77,500 awarded to them last September, they could be left to pay the £160,000 and the bank's legal costs, which they estimate at up to £40,000.

"That would finish us and, after seven years of battling against the bank, we would finally be forced into bankruptcy," said Mrs Verity. "It seems very unfair that we won and yet could still end up as losers."

When their last case ended, Mr Spindler and Mrs Verity announced that they were separating because of their age difference and Mr Spindler's desire to start a family. Yesterday, the couple were still together at Mrs Verity's home but they remain resigned to an amicable separation.

"We're seeing it through together until the end," said Mrs Verity.



Loan trouble: Richard Spindler and Julia Verity won their first court fight with Lloyds but may lose their second

Schools rush for assisted places

JUDITH JUDD
Education Editor

Private schools have rushed to apply for more assisted places in response to the Prime Minister's promise to boost the scheme. They have put in bids for about 7,000 state-funded places for bright pupils from this September.

The first 5,000 extra assisted places will be on offer to fulfil John Major's pledge to double the 30,000 place scheme over the next six years. He announced the plan at last year's Conservative Party conference to emphasise the difference between the Tories and the Labour Party over private education. Labour has said it will phase out the scheme, which costs more than £100m a year, and use the money to decrease class sizes for the youngest primary school children.

A Department for Education and Employment spokesman said: "We are delighted. We have a large number of applications from independent

schools. We shall be making an announcement shortly about which schools will be included."

Friday was the deadline for applications. Some private school heads had suggested that not enough schools would come forward for the scheme, which is means-tested, because the Government no longer allows for the full cost of independent school fees.

There were also fears that there would not be enough space in schools which currently offer assisted places.

Ministers decided that some assisted places should be offered to children from the age of five. At present, only those 11 and over are eligible. Some of the schools which have applied will be disappointed. All will be vetted to see whether their academic record meets government standards.

Critics say some independent schools would close were it not for the assisted places scheme. The closure rate of private schools halved after the scheme was introduced in 1980.

Pools fans bet on the Internet

DANNY PENMAN

Football fans around the world can now use the Internet to play the pools. Zettlers, the smallest of the three British football pools companies, has launched a site on the World Wide Web to try and out-manoeuvre the National Lottery.

Fans can play the game from anywhere in the world using little more than a computer, modem, and a credit card. Punters play by filling in an electronic form, which also contains their credit card details, and then sending it via the World Wide Web to the host computer in Jersey. If they win they are told the following week by e-mail.

The system also allows punters to place standing bets for up to 999 weeks. Many gamblers using the system are placing standing bets initially for one year. Zettlers is now receiving hundreds of bets per week through the new system. Jamie Easterman, who helped develop the betting system, said he envisages transactions through the Internet becoming the com-

pany's main source of revenue.

Security fears about the Internet have cramped its development as a commercial arena. Those worries are now fading as practically unbreakable encryption systems come into widespread use. The Zettlers system relies on the same encryption system used by Netscape - the main programme used to browse the World Wide Web - to transmit information over the Internet. The system allows people to send scrambled information over the Internet which is readable only to the intended recipient.

Mr Easterman said that security fears have been greatly overplayed. "If you compare walking into a restaurant and handing over your credit card details with this system then there's just no comparison. This is far more secure," he said.

Zettlers hopes to capitalise on the global gambling market rather than trying to grab market share from its British rivals. Americans and Hong Kong citizens have shown the most foreign interest so far.

DAILY POEM

Sir Launcelot du Lake

By Jean MacVean

*This son of my body
this Haut Prince
is demure as a dove*

*God make you good
I prayed
whose beauty dims
all mortal men*

*He came before me
demure as a dove*

*and a virgin
on a white horse
wept
at my downfalling*

*who had till then
been deemed
the best knight
of the world*

Jean MacVean was born in Bradford, West Yorkshire, and was educated at Bradford Girls Grammar School and the College d'Hulst at Versailles in France. She was one of the few female officers working for the Ministry of Information during the war and subsequently worked for MI6. A novel, *The Intermediaries*, was published by Gollancz (1972) and three poetry collections have since appeared, this poem taken from the most recent, *The True and Holy History of the Sangral*, a cycle of Arthurian poems after Sir Thomas Malory, published by Agenda Editions at £4.50 (5 Cranbourne Court, Albert Bridge Road, London SW11 4PE).

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news

Prostitute's murder trial 'based on faulty DNA'

HEATHER MILLS
Home Affairs Correspondent

Police have re-opened the investigation into the murder of Lynette White, the prostitute hacked to death seven years ago on St Valentine's day, a case which led to one of Britain's most serious miscarriages of justice.

Three years after three men were cleared by the Court of Appeal of her murder, South Wales police are investigating claims that at least two original suspects may have been wrongly eliminated from inquiries because of inadequate DNA and blood-group testing.

Yesterday South Wales police said officers had met with forensic scientists to re-evaluate the scientific evidence in the case. Concerns had been raised by Alun Michael, Labour's Home Affairs spokesman, and Salish Sekar, who has been researching the case.

Ms White, 20, was killed in her "punters' room", above a betting shop in Butetown, Cardiff. She was stabbed more than 50 times, her left breast was almost severed and her throat was slit to the spine. Blood had been spattered everywhere.

Within days South Wales Police had details of their prime suspect, a white man seen in blood-stained clothing in a distressed state outside her flat af-

ter the murder. A photofit was issued and Detective Chief Superintendent John Williams said in March 1988: "This man almost certainly had the blood of the deceased on him."

But 10 months later, five black men were charged with murder, largely on the evidence of two prostitute friends of Ms White, one of whom had named a succession of different people in 18 statements to police. There was also a so-called confession by one of the five, Stephen Miller. He had a mental age of 11, and his "confession" was obtained only after 300 denials during five days of interviews.

After one of the longest murder trials in Britain, lasting 197 days, three of the five, Miller, Tony Paris and Yusef Abdullahi, were convicted.

Supporters mounted a campaign and two years later the Court of Appeal cleared the three, after the judges ruled Miller's "confession" had been obtained in a "travesty of an interview".

Mr Sekar has since discovered that the blood groups of two earlier suspects, both white and one with a conviction for child rape and a client of Ms White, were almost identical to the rare grouping found in the dead woman's flat. Both were eliminated by DNA profiling which has since been called into question. It is understood the samples will be re-tested.

Mr Sekar, who has researched the case for a book, *Fined In* said yesterday: "I am not accusing either of the two men. I am saying that their elimination from the inquiries can no longer be relied upon. It is tragic that it has taken six years for anyone to notice that the original DNA testing was unreliable."

In a statement, South Wales police said: "We are acutely aware of advances in forensic science". They added they were evaluating "a number of crimes over the past year, including the murder of Lynette White".



Ms White: hacked to death above betting shop

Scots access: Cries of 'betrayal' over Magnus Magnusson's Concordat



Caledonia, stern and wild: The right to roam in Scotland is seen as enshrining tolerance on all sides

Photograph: David Rose

Right to roam in the hills and glens

STEPHEN GOODWIN

Magnus Magnusson, the thinking person's quizmaster, has brokered a deal to allow walkers to roam the Scottish hills without upsetting the proprietorial interests of the lairds. But even as Mr Magnusson launches his "Concordat on Access" this week in his role as founding chairman of Scottish National Heritage (SNH), there is a suspicion that landowners have gone along with his consensus approach in the hope of staving off the right to roam promised by Labour.

Outdoor groups will sign up to the Magnusson document - which enshrines tolerance by both sides - because in the

words of the Ramblers' Association's Dave Morris, "It's the only show in town".

But as Mr Magnusson backs in the plaudits of such traditional adversaries as the Scottish Landowners' Federation and the Ramblers' Association, offstage there are mutterings of "betrayal" and "weakness" over a proposal to scale down SNH's work elsewhere. A study report slipped out just before Christmas suggests that to meet its statutory conservation duties, SNH could drop discretionary spending on things such as footpaths schemes, country parks and ranger services.

SNH insists the narrower remit is only an option, with the final decision up to ministers.

But as it struggles to meet not just the cost of new European directives but a swingeing 10 per cent cut in its budget to £36m for 1996-97 some scaling down seems inevitable. The principal recommendation of the study, carried out by Scottish Office officials, Mr Magnusson and his chief executive, Roger Crofts, is that SNH should be given new objectives by the end of March.

Mr Magnusson's term as SNH's first chairman ends this month, however it is likely Scottish secretary Michael Forsyth will offer him a second stint in the £53,000-a-year post.

The 66-year-old broadcaster regards it as "the best job in Scotland". But critics have accused him of bowing to minis-

ters and to landowners who resent interference in how they manage their estates. Dropping SNH's landscape and access work would be regarded as the final straw.

Labour MP Sam Galbraith, once an enthusiastic supporter of SNH, said it would be a "betrayal" of the organisation's founding principles. He believes it may be necessary to undo the 1992 merger of the nature conservancy council and the countryside commission.

At £25.9m, spending on his year is almost double the £13.3m for countryside enjoyment and education. This year SNH is having to spend £3.3m introducing the European Birds and Habitats Directives.

The study emphasises that if SNH did not carry out conservation tasks, no-one would. "In contrast, some of the 'countryside' functions such as promoting public access and employment ... are not the sole province of SNH," it says. Local authorities, the sports council, and tourist offices, are also involved. "While SNH's work is valuable, much similar work, albeit at a reduced level, would continue if it disengaged."

SNH's establishment followed a fierce backlash by landowners after the conservation body acted against the planting of conifers and the commission argued for national parks in areas like the Cairngorms and Loch Lomond.

Why the temp is in huge demand

CLARE GARNER

The demand for temporary staff has reached its highest level since records began and looks set to continue rising, according to Britain's biggest employment agency.

Reed Personnel Services announced yesterday that employers are relying more heavily than ever on temporary rather than permanent staff. Figures for the last three months of 1995 reveal that the demand is 22 per cent higher than in the 1989 boom time peak and double that of the first quarter of 1992.

"There is a danger that we will get another gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' based not on money but on whether or not you have a permanent job," said Alec Reed, founder and executive chairman of Reed Personnel Services, which has 300 branches in the UK.

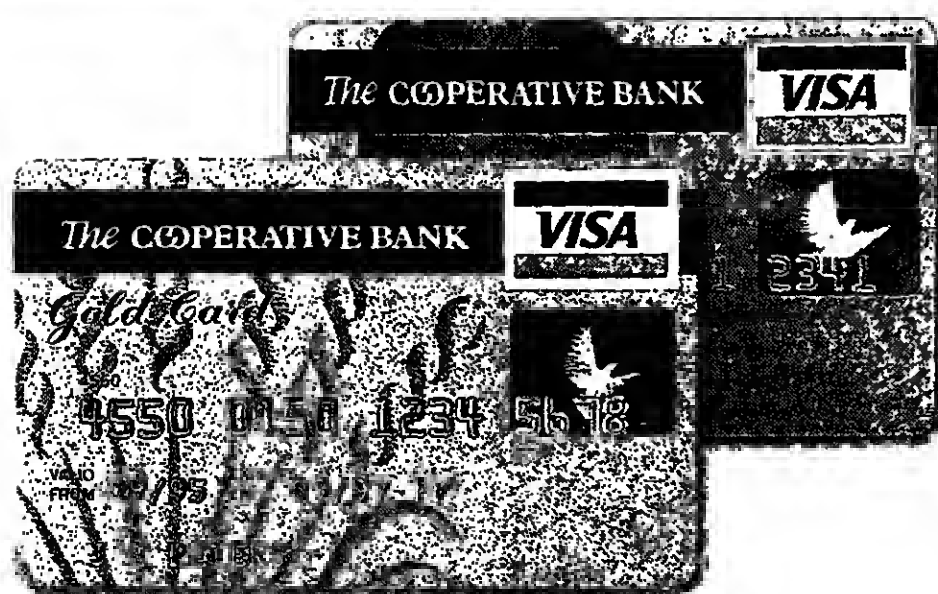
Mr Reed fears that the growing number of one-stop workers - whose spells of work tend to be "a year here and a year there, rather than a week here and a week there as in the past" - are being short-changed. He is calling for provisions to be made to ensure that they receive benefits and support similar to those automatically provided to permanent staff.

"Training, sick pay, holiday pay and access to credit (such as mortgages and credit cards), all need to be available," he said. "Only in this way can the effectiveness and the high quality of the flexible workforce, which is so important to the success of the UK economy, be maintained. If we don't treat temps with respect it could blow up in our faces."

He predicted that the temp's status would soon improve. "I think they will become far more respected over the next 12 months. Temporary work was a new, harsh market which companies rushed into in times of recession. Now companies are realising that temps are a valuable tool in running a business."

Demand for temporary staff has risen 25 per cent year-on-year, a 1 per cent increase on the previous quarter's year-on-year percentage increase, according to the Reed Temporary Index.

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Warnings of jail riots follow plans to cut jobs

HEATHER MILLS
Home Affairs Correspondent

Ministers are set on a collision course with prison staff over plans to axe 3,000 jobs. Coming at a time when jails are already bursting at the seams with record numbers of inmates - expected to top 54,000 by April - many inside the Prison Service are now warning of riot and unrest as conditions deteriorate.

The scale of the job losses sparked an immediate political furor, with the opposition claiming that Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, was embarking on a "suicide mission". Alan Beith, home affairs spokesman for the Liberal Democrats, said it was ludicrous to have fewer staff controlling more and more prisoners. Jack Straw, Labour's home affairs spokesman, said: "Mr Howard promised a 5,000 increase in police officers. Now we know they will be paid for by the loss of prison officers. It is an absurd way to go and will only add to the crisis in the Prison Service." Existing staff shortages are already being blamed for the squalid and inhumane conditions at Holloway Women's Prison, in north London, which prompted the unprecedented walkout by inspectors last month. And in other jails inmates are being locked

in their cells for longer periods and denied access to education, welfare and work programmes.

But the reduction in prison activities has only saved a small part of the £65m in cuts demanded by the Treasury this year.

Prison governors are expected to be given details of their reduced budgets today, and guidance on how to implement cuts which will total 13 per cent over the next three years.

Prison officers and governors aged over 55 will be the first to be offered redundancy, with pensions boosted by payoffs of between £5,000 and £10,000.

Yesterday Richard Tilt, the acting director general of the Prison Service, admitted that although the losses would cause some difficulty, the service would cope. "Our first priority is to maintain control and good order within our prisons," he said.

But prison staff warned of the effect of cuts on a service where morale is already low because of privatisation and the upheaval caused by last year's two embarrassing escapes from White-moor, Cambridgeshire, and Parkhurst, on the Isle of Wight.

Ben Coffman, spokesman for the Prison Officers Association, said: "The loss of the most experienced staff will decimate the Prison Service and seriously threaten control in many es-

tablishments. The role of prison officers will be reduced to that of turnkey and rehabilitation will be forgotten."

The proposed cuts will seriously threaten the service's ability to implement many of the 127 recommendations in the Leamington inquiry into security after the Parkhurst escape.

They also call into question whether the 134 prisons would be able to cope with the influx of extra inmates who will inevitably follow Mr Howard's proposals to end remissions and impose heavier minimum sentences. Reform groups have estimated the plans, to be published in a White Paper in the spring, would boost the prison population by up to 20,000.



Across the gap: Britain's oldest wrought iron and concrete bridge at Homersfield, Suffolk, has reopened after a six-month restoration costing £100,000. The bridge, which lies between Bungay and Harleston, was built in 1870. Photograph: Keith Whitmore



Delicate: The high brown fritillary is reduced to 51 sites

Butterfly flutters towards survival

NICHOLAS SCHOON
Environment Correspondent

Britain's most endangered butterfly, the high brown fritillary, has fallen in number by more than 90 per cent over the past 40 years, surveys show.

Before the Second World War, the black, white and gold butterfly was a common woodland species, but today there are only 51 small sites where it is known to survive in the UK, although it remains common in southern Europe. Its strongholds here are Dartmoor, Exmoor, Herefordshire and the southern edge of the Lake District.

Like several other much-reduced butterfly species (five have become extinct in Britain over the past two centuries) it flourished in traditionally managed woods. Every few years a large part of the wood would be cut for coppice poles, creating sheltered areas where the fritillary caterpillars could bask in the sun after they hatched in March, and where they fed on the leaves of violets. But coppicing has been largely abandoned, leaving woodland too shady and cool for the larvae.

The high brown fritillary also needs bracken to cling to, but not so much that the violets are swamped. The right balance is maintained by cattle and Dart-



moor ponies which trample the growth in their search for grass. Today, however, the plant is often controlled with weedkiller.

The fritillary is one of 116 endangered or fast-declining British plant and animal species covered by rescue plans drawn up by a Government steering group, which proposes that the butterfly should return by 2005 to 10 of the sites from which it has recently disappeared.

The wildlife group Butterfly Conservation is finalising a UK action plan for the species which forms the basis for the steering group's proposals, costed at £21,000 a year. Private landowners, the group says, need to be informed on the needs of the species. If they receive one of the Government grants for woodland and countryside improvement, then that should be conditional on their using butterfly-friendly land-management methods to allow the species to re-establish itself.

The fritillary may appear to be a delicate, fussy insect, but little more than half a century ago it was well able to co-exist with humankind: it is we who have changed, not the butterfly.

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8
international

Hostage drama: Russian troops tighten stranglehold around village before all-out strike

Chechens defy call to surrender

PHIL REEVES
Pervomayskoye

Chechen rebels holding more than 100 hostages in a border village were given another night to "reconsider their position" after defying calls to give up yesterday.

As President Boris Yeltsin sent two of his top security officials to Dagestan in an effort to end the five-day confrontation between the Russian army and the rebels at the village of Pervomayskoye, a matter of yards from the border with Chechnya, the Interior Ministry announced that a brief breathing-space had been agreed by local officials in their talks with the Muslim fighters. However, rebel snipers fired on the Russian forces surrounding them, wounding up to four, according to Russian officials. They insisted that their troops did not fire back.

General Mikhail Barsukov, head of the Federal Security Service (FSB) and the Interior Minister, Anatoly Kulikov, took charge of the Russian attempts to negotiate after the Chechens failed to respond to a Kremlin ultimatum to hand over their captives and surrender by 10am yesterday.

The Chechen leader, Salman Raduyev, 28, ignored Russian threats that their troops would be ordered to attack the village, where the rebels have been cornered since Wednesday.

As the deadline approached, the formidable array of forces surrounding the farming hamlet was strengthened still further with the arrival of about 300 Ministry of Interior special troops, accompanied by a group of snipers with high-powered ri-



Voice for freedom: A Chechen woman at a Russian checkpoint outside Pervomayskoye pleads for the hostages' release

Photograph: AP

fling slung over their shoulders. But when it passed with no end to the deadlock, the Russians withdrew the men, generally scaled down their military activity and softened their tone, despite earlier comments making clear that they were no longer willing to strike a deal in which the rebels walked free.

Alexander Mikhailov, an FSB spokesman who earlier this week had called for the "annihilation of the bandits", struck a more conciliatory note here yesterday, saying that every effort ought to be made to resolve the crisis without any unnecessary loss of life.

The stand-off began six days ago as the Chechen fighters were retreating from north Dagestan, where they had taken over a hospital in Kizlyar and

seized 2,000 hostages, in an effort to force the Russians to withdraw their troops from Chechnya.

They sought refuge in Pervomayskoye after being fired on by Russian helicopters as they crossed the Chechen border, an act which they saw as a breach of an agreement that they would have safe passage back to their break-away republic.

As the Kremlin seeks to extract itself from the politically damaging crisis, at times it has engaged in military posturing of operatic proportions.

On Saturday night the Russians fired clusters of high-altitude flares above the village, which floated down through the clouds, filling the heavens with a sickly, apricot-coloured glow.

Small red, green and orange flares occasionally arched low over the fields, illuminating the dark silhouette of the Russian war machine and the distant peasant smallholdings which Mr Raduyev and his men had made their lair.

In Sovetskoye, the nearest village, the few Dagestani men who have not left gathered in a knot at the Russian roadblock on the lane leading to Pervomayskoye, watched by scowling Russian soldiers.

Some of the onlookers perched on haystacks, straining for a view of what might have been Guy Fawkes night, were its purpose not so grim and potentially bloody.

Meanwhile, overhead day and night there is the constant drone of Mi-24 helicopter gun-

ships, which swoop so low that you half expect their rocket-packed bellies to catch on the powerlines.

This operation is all about pressure. The Russian commanders hope that if the nocturnal bangs and flashes do not disorientate and disturb the rebels, who are well used to Russian military tactics, then they will at least unsettle the hostages, and make them intensify pressure on the captors for their release.

The weaponry assembled here has as much to do with intimidation as it has with battle requirements. There are T-72 tanks with 120mm guns, BMT armoured vehicles, Spetsnaz special forces and commandos from the anti-terrorist forces squad. Much of this army is con-

stantly on the move, prowling menacingly around the fields.

The Russians also appear to have started disseminating black propaganda. The FSB, a spin-off from the dismantled KGB, yesterday sought to persuade the international press corps that the Russians had heard women in the village screaming at night.

Another report, again circulated by the FSB, said that Russian military intelligence had intercepted a radio conversation in which the Chechen rebels, local officials ordered the evacuation of the village's women and children. In a community where women's liberation is about as advanced as the bathroom design (a hole in the ground in a fetid wooden shed), it was a dreadful setback.

The men's first reaction, as the Russian army massed in their fields, was to get raging drunk. The sound of the buses which carried their women off to neighbouring towns had

DAGESTAN DAYS

Women bring out the lamb in macho man

Sovetskoye - While the world waits on tenterhooks to see if the Russian army will annihilate a rebel-held hamlet in Dagestan, another village, two miles down the road, has already been destroyed without anyone raising so much as a whisper.

When the international press corps moved into Sovetskoye (population 1,200), it wasn't such a bad place: it wasn't Monte Carlo but it was a picturesque enough Muslim farming community, a sprawl of stone houses and barns clustered around a scruffy little mosque a few hundred yards from the Chechen border. It provided an excellent view of the Russian tanks, especially if you stood on a haystack.

Moreover, the local Avar people made wonderful hosts. They were completely unworried by the arrival of an army of correspondents who came tearing in with flashy computer equipment, elaborate foul-weather wear, endless demands and hefty appetites.

You couldn't plod more than 10 yards along its lanes without being accosted by a *babushka*, ushering you to the hearth side for potato-and-lamb stew, hot unleavened bread and cups of sugary tea. Before long, half the village had journalists sleeping in their homes - a hotel is about as unlikely a proposition here as Disneyland - and yet they refused offers of money.

But on Friday the place fell apart. Fearful that Sovetskoye would be caught in the battle brewing at its edge between the Russians and the Chechen rebels, local officials ordered the evacuation of the village's women and children. In a community where women's liberation is about as advanced as the bathroom design (a hole in the ground in a fetid wooden shed), it was a dreadful setback.

The men's first reaction, as the Russian army massed in their fields, was to get raging drunk. The sound of the buses which carried their women off to neighbouring towns had

scarcely died away when they launched into a vodka binge, switching to fortified Dagestani wine when their supplies dwindled. Well into the following day, they were still boozing and gnawing bones.

Halfway through this alcoholic orgy, anxious to impress their new Western friends, they grabbed one of the village's sheep, dragged it into the yard of a home in which we were gathered, and cut its throat. They then skinned it, boiled it and devoured it, leaving a trail of blood and bones and a host of turning Western stomachs.

But that was probably their last enjoyable moment. Dagestani men are not lacking in machismo, yet overnight they have been turned into lambs, and bewildered ones at that.

"You just can't live without women," said Gamil, the old man whose home we are living in, as he looked at the stale bread, unwashed glasses, and half-eaten gherkins scattered around his kitchen.

With his wife and daughter gone, he is living on scraps of bread and jam and spends most of his day praying in the gloom of a back room.

Matters are not helped by the loss of the electricity supply, the diminishing supply of food, and absence of running water. The press corps is beginning to smell a little like the dung heaps dotted around the village, courtesy of the many cows that wander the streets. Worse, the drink has run out.

The only decent meal here in the last day or two was a goose, slaughtered by the Dagestani for some American newspapermen, who are always wealthier and better-fed than their European counterparts. If things go on much longer here there will be two battles: the first between the Chechens and the Russians, the second between the Avars and their wives, who will not be pleased by what they find on their return.

Phil Reeves

War crimes judge will inspect Bosnian 'mass grave'

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY
Defence Correspondent
EMMA DALY
Sarajevo

Judge Richard Goldstone, head of the International War Crimes Tribunal on former Yugoslavia, is due to visit Bosnia this month, following reports of the existence of a huge mass grave in a mine in the north-west.

His arrival may help to reveal the scale of war crimes in

Bosnia, which is still shrouded in mystery. Nato has said it will not intervene. "Investigating mass graves is not part of my job. Establishing an environment in which others can do their job is part of my job," Admiral Leighton Smith, commander of Nato's peace implementation force (I-For), said yesterday.

"Nato is not mandated to go into an area where there may or may not be graves", said

Colonel James Ellery, director of public information for I-For. "When the relevant authorities - the war crimes tribunal - decide the time is right to go in, they will do that. If they need assistance from I-For to get there, they will request it. Nato said it had not received requests from the war crimes tribunal, or other organisations, to help escort investigators. The UN, which controls an international civilian police

force, may conduct preliminary investigations into allegations of mass graves, an official said, but would go no further. Antonio Padua, the UN co-ordinator, said the examination of graves would require forensic expertise available only to the tribunal. "I would separate [human rights] from mass graves, serious violations of international law under the Geneva convention - that is up to the tribunal and the ICRC [International

Committee of the Red Cross]," he said. "The UN is here to act on violations of human rights now and in the future."

One Red Cross spokesman, Pierre Gauthier, declined any ICRC responsibility for the investigation of mass graves. "We have not the mandate to dig up mass graves, we have not the know-how and we have not the enforcement," he said.

Reporters were able to visit the open-cast mine at Ljubija

without hindrance from Serb soldiers but found little to confirm allegations. Although British Nato troops responsible for the area where the alleged mass grave may have been passing information to the representative of the war crimes tribunal, they had received no request for help yesterday, Col Ellery said.

"We just don't have the manpower", said Col Ellery. "The manpower is sufficient for the

allocated tasks". These include supervising the withdrawal of the former warring sides from a "zone of separation" either side of the boundary between the two "entities" in Bosnia.

Given the scale of "ethnic cleansing" in northern and eastern Bosnia, many of the allegations are probably true. But proof will only come when the tribunal experts come in and dig. The same is true for three alleged mass graves near Srebrenica, the Muslim enclave that fell to Serb forces in July.

More than 2,000 people from Srebrenica are still missing, six months after the enclave fell to the Bosnian Serbs. The US has spy satellite photos of several sites near Srebrenica suspected of housing the remains of those missing. Serb police guard the area, and journalists attempting to visit one suspected grave were arrested and held for several hours by Serb forces last week.

Portuguese left bathes in glory after poll rains

ELIZABETH NASH
Lisbon

Portugal's Conservatives had natter rainwater than their opponents - waterproof capes sporting the name of their presidential candidate, Anibal Cavaco Silva. But the Socialist, Jorge Sampaio, was the one expected to end up alone and dry. Final projections at the close of polls gave Mr Sampaio 54.59 per cent of votes, ahead of Mr Cavaco with a predicted 41.43 per cent.

Both candidates campaigned under the orange-and-green colours of the national flag,

rather than those of their party, for the non-partisan post. But Mr Sampaio's slogan, "One for All", more accurately caught the popular mood than those of Mr Cavaco: "In the name of Portugal" and "Mega President".

Mr Sampaio's conciliatory personality seemed likely to overcome fears whipped up by Conservatives about the concentration of power in the hands of the left. At Mr Sampaio's closing rally in a Lisbon opera house, the city's former mayor offered "renewal and stability" and promised to humanise links between people and political power.

Mr Cavaco dwelt on his experience as prime minister during 10 years of Conservative government, which ended last year with the Socialist's election victory. But Mr Sampaio pointed out that he had a democratic record dating back more than 30 years to his fight against the Salazar dictatorship, when Mr Cavaco, 56, was studying economics at York University.

The Cavaco camp resorted finally to a crude anti-Communism. "Down with communism," shouted a platform speaker at Mr Cavaco's closing open-air rally in Lisbon before she was pulled away.



Sampaio: caught the mood

But Mr Sampaio, 56 is no Communist, although he led a left-wing Socialist movement for three years after Portugal's "Carnation Revolution" in April 1974, before joining the Socialist Party.

The winner succeeds Mario Soares, 71, who retires as President on 9 March after the maximum two five-year terms.

Rebel priest takes to the Internet

MARY DEJEVSKY
Paris

France's most troublesome priest, Mgr Jacques Gaillot, has marked the first anniversary of his expulsion from the see of Evreux, west of Paris, by establishing a "virtual" bishopric for himself on the Internet.

The action was characteristic of Mgr Gaillot, a lively and unconventional figure whose popularity - and awkwardness to the establishment - has only been enhanced by his tribulations.

When he was dismissed on Vatican orders last January, after 13 years at Evreux, it was for openly advocating the rights of homosexuals and minority groups, defending the use of condoms to combat Aids and

refusing to condemn abortion unconditionally. Adept at using the media to pursue his cause, Mgr Gaillot had given the Vatican little option but to dismiss him if his authority was to remain intact.

The bishop, however, turned out to have a huge personal following, both in Evreux and across France. People turned out in their thousands for his last Mass, filling the streets around the cathedral and weeping.

This support took the French church hierarchy by surprise and prompted a year of worried introspection, as senior churchmen pondered how so large a gap had opened up between them and the laity. The "Gaillot question", as it became known, dominated Catholic

gatherings and episcopal meetings through the year, and the see of Evreux is still without a bishop.

Mgr Gaillot's "virtual" bishopric is not quite such a heretical move as it sounds. Because bishops cannot be dismissed as such, "virtual bishoprics" of a kind - obsolete sees that exist only in the record books - have been used by the Vatican for centuries as places of notional exile for difficult bishops. Mgr Gaillot's dismissal was couched as his "transfer" to the defunct see of Partenia in the Sahara.

Introducing his Internet site this weekend, Mgr Gaillot said: "Partenia... has not existed since the sixth century; today, thanks to the new communications technology, it lives again to be-

come the first 'virtual diocese', and gives me the means to continue my work." For the past year, this work has been mainly with the homeless in Paris, assisting the veteran campaigning priest, Abbe Pierre.

Just before Christmas, Mgr Gaillot was finally received by the Pope, an audience he had requested since his dismissal and which represented at least a partial reconciliation. In a mild reproach, the Pope reportedly told his "virtual" bishop that, while his social work was very commendable, as a consecrated bishop he should work "more within the bosom of the church". While the Bishops' Council of France was puzzling how to do that, Mgr Gaillot found his own solution:

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Belgian fraud squad lifts lid on EU corruption

Immunity rules shield suspects from prosecution, writes Sarah Helm

Brussels - Belgian fraud investigators are making damaging accusations that fraud by European Commission officials in Brussels is going unchecked, owing to secrecy and immunity rules that protect officials from criminal prosecution. The allegations are vehemently denied by the Commission, which challenges its accusers to produce evidence.

The accusations follow the unprecedented arrest last week by Belgian police of two Commission tourism officials. This resulted from the first ever decision by the Commission to lift the immunity from prosecution of two suspects officials, George Tzoanos, a Greek, and Pascal Chatillon, a Frenchman, are now locked in Brussels' Forti jail, following a demand from the King's Prosecution Office for the Commission to

allow the Belgian authorities to act. Mr Tzoanos's wife was also arrested, on charges of operating a front company in Greece. The case has brought to light the fact that no Commission official has ever been charged under criminal law for fraud. Immunity from prosecution, which is granted to all staff to enable them to operate freely, means Belgian criminal prosecutors cannot become involved unless the Commission lifts immunity. Until this case, the Commission never deemed it necessary.

It was largely due to the campaigning of Edward McMillan-Scott, MEP for North Yorkshire, that the tourism scandal was forced into the view of the Belgian fraud authorities. MEPs are rarely willing to take

such a confrontational approach, and the Belgian fraud squad would normally only receive information on EU corruption from the Commission's own whistle-blowers. But the whistle is rarely blown, as Commission staff take oaths of secrecy when they join.

Belgian sources close to the tourism inquiry, which dates from 1990, criticise the Commission's reluctance to act earlier over the tourism scam, in which bribes were allegedly paid and kickbacks taken. Mr Tzoanos's nick-name in the tourism trade was "Mr Ten-per-cent".

Mr McMillan-Scott, formerly responsible for parliamentary oversight of tourism policy, says he first presented evidence of bribery within the Commis-

sion's tourism unit in 1990 to David Williamson, the secretary general of the Commission. But the two prime suspects were not suspended until July 1994. Even then, the Commission did not lift immunity from prosecution. "I would not say it was a cover-up but, in this case the Commission certainly tried to put up a smoke screen," said Mr McMillan-Scott.

The European Union has recently been badly huffed by a report of the Court of Auditors, its financial watchdog, which revealed that £2bn of the 70bn Ecu EU budget was unaccounted for in 1994. The Commission argues that the "missing millions" were misused in member states, not in Brussels. However, the Belgian charges cannot be so easily dismissed.

"We are not saying that all Commission Officials are corrupt. But many officials manage huge budgets and it is clear the Commission's own control systems do not always work," a Belgian official said. "In some cases it is without doubt that the fraud begins within the Commission itself."

Although Belgian investigators have not produced evidence of other Commission fraud, they say that "information received" gives them "strong reason to believe" this week's arrests are the tip of the iceberg. They are particularly concerned about fraud in the big spending departments dealing with agriculture and aid. They scoff at Commission claims that there is no evidence of corruption elsewhere in the organisation,

and that the Tzoanos-Chatillon case is a "one off". Granting immunity from prosecution to staff means the truth about Commission fraud cannot be established, Belgian sources say.

Per Brix Knudsen, head of the Commission's newly strengthened internal anti-fraud unit, Utaf, defends the ability of his 130-man team to uncover any malpractice by Commission officials, saying his men are better equipped to establish the facts than the Belgian police. The Court of Auditors reports annually on spending misuse. Jacques Santer, the Commission President, made fighting fraud a priority when he took over a year ago.

The EU bureaucracy does not take kindly to accusations of corruption from the Belgian police, and says the Belgians ought to examine corruption in their own state machinery.

One year after the Kobe disaster: A report predicts up to 60,000 dead and £2,100bn damage if Tokyo suffers the same fate



Slow recovery: A security guard guides traffic under the Hanshin expressway, collapsed by the Kobe earthquake of 17 January last year (right). Reconstruction work is expected to finish before the end of 1996



Photographs: Reuters

Tokyo faces 'catastrophic' earthquake loss

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY
Tokyo

One year after the Kobe earthquake which killed 6,300 people, Tokyo faces an even greater disaster which could leave 60,000 dead and cause "staggering" economic losses, according to a new study.

The report, by Stanford University of California and an insurance research company, Risk Management Solutions, predicts what it calls "the largest

catastrophic loss (in economic terms) in history" whose knock-on effects could shake the international markets, and raise interest rates around the world.

The research team considered the effects on the Tokyo area of a repeat of the great Kanto earthquake which killed 143,000 and razed two thirds of the city in 1923. It concluded that shaking and fires caused by the 7.9 magnitude quake would kill between 30,000 and 60,000 people, and seriously injure

80,000 to 100,000 others. Economic losses could reach \$3,300bn (£2,100bn). "The potential total economic loss is staggering... 44-70 per cent of Japan's gross domestic product in 1994," the report concludes.

Seismically, 1995 was an alarming year, not just for Japan, but for the whole western Pacific Rim. In May, a town on the island of Sakhalin, in the Russian Far East, was destroyed by an intense, localised earthquake. Seismic activity through-

out the Japanese archipelago has been unusually high, with tsunami (tidal wave) warnings issued after submarine quakes off the northern island of Hokkaido, as well as the Amami Islands in the far south.

On the precise scale and timing of a future Tokyo earthquake, there is little consensus, and the impossibility of accurate earthquake prediction in Kobe proved deadly. A 1972 study had predicted a tremor of magnitude 7, but the city authorities

chose to believe other reports, and made emergency plans on the basis of a quake of maximum magnitude five. In the event, last January's disaster was 7.2; the inadequacy of the emergency response cost lives.

The report underlines the fact that, twelve months after Kobe, Japan's worst natural disaster since 1923, little has been achieved to diminish the impact of future catastrophes. Some scientists argue that the Kanto earthquake, which has

struck at roughly 70 year intervals for the past 300 years, is not inevitable, but all agree that Tokyo, one of the world's most densely populated areas, lies virtually on top of one of Japan's most seismically active zones. A plan is being studied, with the approval of Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, to relocate the national government to a more stable city in the first quarter of the 21st century.

In the meantime, the process of reinforcing the city's build-

ings and roads is painfully slow. In Tokyo the concrete supports for the overhead expressways, which collapsed so spectacularly in Kobe, number 7,200. Two thousand are set to be reinforced, but the city authorities cannot say how many, if any, have so far been completed.

Even given an agreed earthquake magnitude, variables make the task of calculating casualties almost impossible. Compared to the Stanford University report, the Tokyo City

Government predicts fatalities of just 9,400. The National Land Agency, on the other hand, cites a maximum figure of 350,000 killed or injured.

"If [the Kobe quake] happened during peak hours in Tokyo, one million would die, and all we could do is watch our houses burn," Professor Takayoshi Igarashi of Tokyo's Hosei University said. "There's only one lesson from Kobe, and that is that the government can do nothing."

'The Palestinians believe the Oslo accord is just an extended truce'

Hebron — "The Palestinians only have islands of authority on the West Bank," says Khalid Amayreh, an Islamic writer and commentator in Hebron, as he criticises Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman for mismanaging negotiations with Israel. "We will remain subordinate to the Israelis," he adds. "In their hearts the Palestinians believe the Oslo agreement is just an extended truce."

Cynicism about the first ever Palestinian general election, to be held on 20 January, is greatest in Hebron, the capital of the southern West Bank. Here there has been no Israeli military withdrawal. Troops protecting 400 Israeli settlers in the heart of the city will simply pull back to their barracks on election day.

Local candidates admit that the mood in Hebron is bad. Ali al-Kawasm, standing for Fatah, the political organisation of Mr Arafat, says: "I think that only 60 per cent will vote in the election, but if the Israelis truly go, then it would be 100 per cent." In the villages, he says, people are more positive about the election, because Israeli soldiers have largely withdrawn.

Unfortunately the election has produced no real debate among Palestinians about what

PLO election cynicism runs rife in the West Bank, writes Patrick Cockburn

they are getting from the present phase of the Oslo agreement, because the opposition, Islamic and secular, is not taking part. The two main secular opposition parties have put up a joint poster in Hebron which reads: "This election will split the people and split Palestine."

In the villages outside Hebron, however, there are real signs of a transfer of power. In al-Fawwar, a refugee camp housing 7,000 people five miles west of Hebron, we asked a local teacher called Hashem al-Tili what benefits people in the camp had gained from Israeli redeployment. "We don't see



Arafat: 'Mishandled talks'

any Israeli soldiers," he replied. "We are no longer frightened that they will come in the night and arrest our children."

Other leaders in the camp, which had a tradition of militancy in the Palestinian *intifada* (uprising), said they did not know what they would get out of the election, but they intended to vote. Sheikh Ibrahim Abu Sal admitted there was a difference among the generations of refugees: "All the old people want to return back to their villages [in Israel], but the younger generation have different ideas."

In the nearby town of Doura, Ibrahim Abu Khalil, a plump police colonel in a blue uniform, had set up the area's first Palestinian police post, and was facing a problem of jurisdiction. He explained that earlier in the day gunmen in a car had fatally wounded Fawzi Mashalmi, 55, as he stood outside his shop in the village of Beit Alla. He bled to death as his family drove him to Doura.

With 70 men, the police in Doura said they were too few to control the area, which has 40,000 people. Despite this,

the Palestinian Authority is taking over the rural hinterland of the West Bank, where 68 per cent of the total population live. To sceptics like Mr Amayreh this means little. "I asked a candidate from Fatah what they would do if the Israelis raided Doura, and the answer was 'Nothing'. Arafat's bombastic rhetoric declaring liberated areas does not mean anything."

The parties boycotting the election point to the half-built bypass road cutting a swathe through Palestinian vineyards beside the road to Jerusalem. The weakness of the opposition is that it ignores the intense relief among most Palestinians in the West Bank at the departure of Israeli troops in December.

There is a genuine feeling that 28 years of occupation are ending. Secondly, Hamas and the secular opposition have never produced an alternative policy to Mr Arafat's, but criticise him for not getting more concessions from Israel in the negotiations since Oslo. Abstention by opposition parties and lack of clear programmes means that candidates spend their time trying to persuade leaders of clans and extended families to vote for them.

Patten tells HK to stand up to China

STEPHEN VINES
Hong Kong

Chris Patten, the Governor of Hong Kong, has urged the people of the colony to spend the last year and a half of British rule standing up for themselves, making their views known to the incoming Chinese administration.

He also made it clear that he thought that only hypocrites were criticising his administration for standing up to China. Mr Patten was speaking yesterday during one of his regular radio broadcasts, which he uses to lay out aspects of government policy and thinking. This is by far his most outspoken broadcast, basically telling Hong Kong people that they have only themselves to blame if they remain silent about their fears.

"This is the time," he said, "if ever there was one, for speaking up and saying what one wants to happen."

He directly challenged suggestions by Chinese officials that he in particular, and the people in general, should be keeping their heads down for the next 500 days or so, describing this as a "extraordinary suggestion".

Mr Patten's remarks follow hard on the heels of an equally blunt message by the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, who visited Hong Kong last week, in part to tell its people that they could no longer rely on Britain to look after their interests, as there were aspects of policy now in Chinese hands which were beyond Britain's control.

The Governor pointedly told legislators, business leaders and members of "China's rather narrow circle of advisers in Hong Kong" that if they did not speak up, "no one else will do it for us".

He said that the people who believed in a policy of silence "have themselves the option of departing [from Hong Kong] with another passport to a company or to assets domiciled abroad if things don't work out here."

"I find it hard to understand their argument that it's fine to want the option of living in a free society oneself, but somehow wrong to stand up for everyone's right to go on living in a free society in Hong Kong."

The tenor of the Governor's remarks make it clear that he has no intention of spending the twilight months of British rule in the background, as has been urged on him by nervous business leaders.

Blues for S Africa's white tribes

ROBERT BLOCK
Johannesburg

These are blue days for South Africa's white tribes. Rocking crime rates, new hiring policies aimed at darkening the complexion of white institutions, and the promotion of black languages on television and radio are only some of the developments putting white backs up. But whereas many English-speakers are emigrating, Afrikaners are demonstrating.

Many feel that the government of Nelson Mandela has been trampling on their rights. Underlying their aggrieved mood are feelings of confusion and anxiety over their future, as well as a sense of betrayal by their own leaders.

Their quandary was underlined by an article in yesterday's *Report*, an Afrikaans-language Sunday newspaper, which said that the National Party (NP) — the organisation which created

the apartheid system — was ready to dissolve itself. According to the paper, the NP does not intend to disappear, but is set to reform itself with both a new name and new structure which in effect render the old party moribund.

The party has discussed the possibility of changing its name for months. Those favouring a name change have argued that the party needs to break with the past if it hopes to widen its appeal and challenge Mr Mandela's African National Congress (ANC).

Hence a new organisation, calling itself the "Foundation for Equality Before the Law" — a "civic movement", campaigning to defend Afrikaner rights. On Saturday, it convened a gathering of Afrikaners to air their grievances, which included the government's affirmative action employment policies and the prosecution of white security force officials for apartheid-era crimes.

Of particular concern was the perceived attack on the Afrikaans language which has been demoted from its equal prominence with English, the country's *lingua franca*.

Whereas Afrikaner rallies during apartheid drew tens of thousands of white, Saturday's in front of Pretoria's Pioneer Museum barely attracted 1,000. Yet, the meeting was important because it offered evidence of rising discontent with the government of Mr Mandela, even among moderate Afrikaners.

The speeches — which all focused on the raw deal Afrikaners believed they were getting — were notable for mild rhetoric when compared with the threats of all-out war issued by pro-apartheid whites in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

"We want to play a constructive role and we accept change, but we want to put it very plainly: we will not allow our rights to be trampled or our

people to be hijacked," said General Johan van der Merwe, a retired police commissioner. But the moderate tone was undermined by the failure of the Afrikaners to bridge differences among themselves. The rally got off to an inauspicious start when right-wingers tried to set fire to South Africa's new rainbow-coloured flag, which they said was a symbol of black oppression of Afrikaners. Rally organisers stepped in and grabbed the flag back after a short scuffle.

If the Afrikaners harboured any hope that Mr Mandela might be moved by their display, it was quashed only hours later when the President met Afrikaner intellectuals.

Mr Mandela accused them of seeking to maintain their "unjustly privileged position" and warned that unless they embraced the new dispensation, they would find themselves "on the political sidelines" for ever.

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Lavatory love-in: Taiwanese couple tie the knot at their own convenience



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Simon Kwong: Reuters

George Burns takes a centenary bow

TIM CORNWELL
Los Angeles

"I can't die," George Burns would say. "I'm booked." Older than the Model-T Ford, the comedian played off death and ageing like a stooge. "I've been around for 1,000 years," he remarked in 1991, when he was only 95. "So I walk out on the stage and everybody stands up saying: 'How do you like that - he walks!'"

The man who entered vaudeville at eight in a boy's singing group called the Pee-wee Quartet, and with his wife Gracie Allen moved from stage success to become a US comic institution in the early days of radio and television, is 100 on Saturday. For years Burns, who won an Oscar at the age of 80, has defied old age, and planned a series of centenary events. But after a decline in health after a



Burns: Older than a Model-T

fall 18 months ago, he will celebrate quietly at home, his manager said. He cancelled a birthday show at Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas, a five-day run booked out two years ago. Earlier he had called off a

centenary appearance at the London Palladium. "The Brits wouldn't give me a three year deal," he joked. Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan has named 20 January George Burns Day in honour of a "national treasure".

He will probably appear, but not perform, at one birthday party in Beverly Hills to honour his million-dollar donations to the local Cedars-Sinai Hospital, where two streets nearby are named for Burns and Allen. The couple made their radio debut in Britain in 1930, caged by the BBC to do five short spots as they toured British vaudeville stages. But Gracie concluded that the British "took us too seriously", and they never achieved the level of celebrity they enjoyed in the US, where their show ran on radio from 1932 to their last television appearance in 1958.

Born Nathan Birnbaum to Orthodox Jews who immigrated from Eastern Europe, Burns was his late 20s only a second-rate touring act when he met Gracie, then a 17-year-old actress. As their partnership took off, Burns played the straight man, the tolerant cigar-smoking husband, to Allen's dizzy, scatterbrained housewife. He directed, wrote, and developed their act, but she took the punch lines and drew the audiences. He adopted the cigar as a prop for something to do with his hands, according to "George Burns and The Hundred Year Dash", a new biography by Martin Gottfried. But it became — with thick, black-rimmed glasses — his trademark.

When his wife died of cancer aged 53, after nearly 40 years of a what he called a 24-hour marriage on and off the stage, his visits to her crypts to talk

aloud about work and their two children became legendary.

But his solo career made an extraordinary recovery with "The Sunshine Boys" in 1974, when he played an ageing vaudeville comedian coming out of retirement for a last show opposite Walter Matthau. It won him the Academy Award for best supporting actor, and he followed by playing God four years later with John Denver in the film "Oh God!" Around the time of a television special in 1993 to celebrate his eight decades in show business, though he sang "I wish I was 18 again", Burns began to worry about forgetting his lines.

In cancelling his birthday appearances he seemed to show the deference that marked his career. "No matter how funny you think the joke is," he once said. "If they don't laugh, take it out."

IN BRIEF

Sheikh warned

Manama — Sheikh Abdul-Aziz al-Jamri, a Shia Muslim cleric, was summoned with seven other men by Bahrain's Interior Ministry and warned to stop using mosques to incite unrest and violence in the small Gulf state. Denying he was behind recent violence, he said he wanted a peaceful restoration of Bahrain's parliament, dissolved 20 years ago. *Reuters*

Attack on editor

Algiers — Just after writing a stinging editorial against Islamic rebels, Nourredine Guittoune, owner, manager and editor-in-chief of *L'Indépendant*, was attacked by gunmen as he left his office. Khaled Aboulkacem, the newspaper's archivist, was killed, but Mr Guittoune, 47, played dead until the gunmen left. He was rushed to hospital with wounds in the shoulder and abdomen. *AP*

Nuclear cargo

Seoul — A ship carrying equipment for two nuclear power plants to replace North Korea's suspect nuclear programme left with stores to be used mainly for site surveys. It was the first Western-made gear to be shipped to the Communist North since a 1994 nuclear deal in which Washington promised to build the reactors at an estimated cost of \$4.5bn. (£2.9bn) *AP*

Bush regrets

Washington — Former US President George Bush says he underestimated Iraqi leader President Saddam Hussein's political staying power after the Persian Gulf War and regrets that the allies didn't do more to undercut Saddam's authority in an interview with David Frost to be broadcast nationally. He still believes President Saddam will be overthrown by his own people.

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we will print a list of all the participating Minotel hotels with a brief description of each. To qualify for your 2 For 1 break, you must collect FOUR differently numbered tokens from the seven we are printing and attach them to a voucher which we will print in Saturday's edition of *The Independent* with details on how to book. Yesterday in the *Independent* on Sunday we printed Token 1, today we print Token 2.

We have pictured the All-Nan-Ros Hotel in Fort William. This country house hotel has magnificent views over the loch to the mountains and the restaurant specialises in local fresh produce. A double room for one night costs £75.

We will feature another hotel tomorrow in *The Independent* and give you a third token.

Pictured is All-Nan-Ros Hotel, Fort William

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Media mogul adds 'good cheer' to US elections

RUPERT CORNWELL
Washington

For that strange breed which seeks the Presidency of the United States, no flattery is more sincere than frontal attack by your opponents, no music sweeter than the sound of your policies being savaged by your rivals. At least you are making an impact.

Which is why, from the week-end Republican candidates' debate in Iowa, signalling the last lap before the state's caucuses on 12 February, the oews was not a policy announcement or a scintillating soundbite. Rather it was the sight of the rest of the gang piling in on a slightly stiff, softly spoken man with a famous name and bulging bank account, who had never fought an election campaign in his life.

Four weeks before the first crucial hurdle of the 1996 campaign, an indisputably dreary contest stands exactly as it did 12 months earlier — except for one thing: the remarkable ascent of Steve Forbes, heir to the Forbes magazine empire, trustee of Princeton University, and unabashed political novice.

A bare four months ago, the announcement of his candidacy seemed a footnote to a coast already set in stone. Today, Mr Forbes is the closest challenger to Senator Bob Dole, a distant second to be sure, barely in double digits, but ahead of more fancied runners like Phil Gramm, Lamar Alexander and Pat Buchanan, thanks to a saturation advertising campaign in every early primary state, targeted primarily at Mr Dole.

Eschewing the usual system of seeking private and corporate contributions and matching funds from the government, Mr Forbes has already spent \$10m (£6.5m) out of his own pocket, and is prepared to lash out \$25m more. "Steve Forbes's idea of a fundraiser is taking his wife out to dinner and signing the bill," remarked Mr Dole the other day as he was forced to launch his own TV campaign to counter the Forbes onslaught.

But jokes about buying the White House do not hide the uncomfortable fact that for his money Steve Forbes has obtained second-place poll showings in Iowa — and New Hampshire, and a tie with Mr Dole in Arizona, where the first western primary is held on 27 February. Like it or not, he has become a possibly decisive factor in the race, not because he has a chance of winning but because he has prevented anyone else, and most notably Mr

Gramm and Mr Alexander, from closing in on the front-runner. His campaign boasts only a rudimentary organisation on the ground, drawing its strength from paid TV spots, a general public indifference to the other candidates on offer, and one passionately held idea — a flat tax.

Steve Forbes, like most Americans rich and poor, bates paying taxes. Unlike most Americans, though, he has a plan to do something about it. In a Forbes world, today's convoluted system of different rates, exemptions and loopholes would be replaced by a single flat tax of 17 per cent. No tax on investment income or capital gains. No mortgage deductions, no other breaks. Just



Steve Forbes: Millionaire scion of magazine empire running for US President

an annual tax declaration that would fit on a postcard.

The proposal would also amount to an across-the-board tax cut of anything from \$40bn to \$200bn a year. Small wonder the public warm to the notion, and that on Saturday his opponents spent much of their time decrying it "nutty". For Pat Buchanan it was "yacht-club stuff" that would, as he and every critic of the plan point out, provide a windfall for very rich people like Mr Forbes.

The fact remains, however, that in one form or another, a flat tax has been embraced by wide swathes of the Republican party to Congress, and by at least two of his fellow contenders. "The power to tax is the power to destroy," is the Forbes mantra. "Scrap the tax code, kill it, drive a stake through its heart." Thus it is that the rather mousy 48-year-old scion of Malcolm Forbes, the publisher, party-thrower and lifelong proof that money does buy happiness, has become for my-

riad voters in Iowa and elsewhere simply "the flat-tax guy", achieving a fame, however transient, that his flamboyant father would have killed for.

But there is more to Steve Forbes the politician than the flat tax. In a field notably short of good cheer, he projects it by the carload. Mr Dole comes across as a curmudgeon, Mr Buchanan as a brawler, and Phil Gramm simply lacks the milk of human kindness. Mr Forbes may not be quite as rich as Ross Perot but he is a far more winning character than the last businessman to seek the White House, with none of the Perot paranoia and false modesty. Mr Forbes's diffidence, indeed, is part of his charm.

He also embodies a distinct strand of Republicanism, the party's so-called "Wall Street wing", often overlooked in an era seemingly dominated by family values and the religious right, yet a force nonetheless. Steve Forbes articulates its credo perfectly: Just cut taxes, and you will unleash the entrepreneurial American spirit, send growth soaring and send interest rates tumbling. As for that minor irritant of the federal deficit, never high anyway on the Forbes list of priorities, it will simply take care of itself. Ultimately, he insists, everyone will benefit.

And who can resist a tax cut — not the measly \$500-a-child credit sought by Congressional Republicans, but a tip-roaring full-out flat tax? Cloud cuckoo land, complain his critics. But Mr Forbes is the campaign's happy supply-sider, filling the gap left by Jack Kemp, the former Bush Cabinet member and "bleeding heart conservative" par excellence, who opted 12 months ago to sit out the 1996 race.

In his less ebullient style, Steve Forbes is cut from similar cloth. He is an internationalist, and a radical, for whom devolution means handing powers not to the states, but to the individual. He is a tolerant man, who skirts the explosive issue of abortion. Only immigration has he espoused the harsh line of the party's right.

In private, even Steve Forbes knows he cannot win the majority of Republicans, are unlikely to trust their vote to a man they had never heard of until last September. But that should not spoil the fun. "Steve's having the time of his life," said a friend. And all that criticism? Well, Mr Forbes said with a grin after the Iowa debate. "It just proves I'm getting traction."



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obituaries / gazette

James Holland

In the spring of 1948, less than three years after the end of the Second World War, with the euphoria of victory over and national morale at a low ebb, rationing still continuing and a critical shortage of building materials, five of the most experienced exhibition architects and designers in Britain started to plan the 1951 Festival of Britain. With James Holland were Sir Hugh Casson, Sir Misha Black, Ralph Tubbs and James Gardner.

Apart from the South Bank exhibitions, a huge funfair in Battersea Park and a series of regional events were proposed. It was, in the words of the Ministry of Works, which had studied the ambitious plans and visited a site still buried beneath its wartime debris, "quite simply impossible".

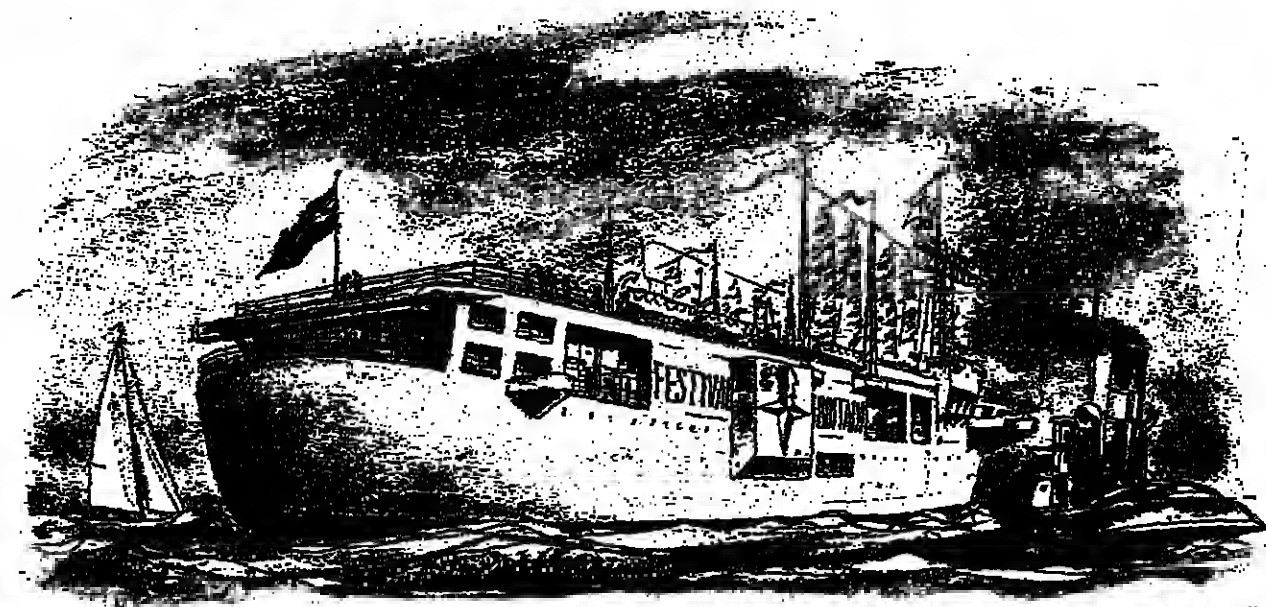
Ignoring this and backed by Herbert Morrison, who was its champion and provider, the festival was agreed and dubbed "A Tonic for the Nation". The team began to assemble the largest group of designers the country has ever seen and not only took on the "impossible" task but each personally designed a section of the site. To his delight Holland drew "Sea and Ships" out of the hat (with Sir Basil Spence as architect and

Laurie Lee as scriptwriter - if a meeting started late, Lee would play his violin) and to Holland's further delight everyone agreed he should have the design of the escort carrier *Campania* to be a floating exhibition hall touring Britain.

Holland always said that his reward was not his OBE but seeing the crowds on the opening day. The public, who were accustomed to demob suits and utility furniture, had experienced nothing like it and were thrilled. It was a signpost for the future and, above all, the first real fun on offer since the victory celebrations and street parties. So advanced for its day was the design work that this genre of architecture and furniture design lasted right through the Sixties and had a major influence on building design in Britain into the Seventies.

I first met this quiet self-effacing man when I applied for a post on his design team at the festival office and, as with all of those who worked with him, he remained a firm friend; true to his conscience, his painting, the sea, the French life-style. It would be difficult to overestimate Holland's contribution in those years.

James Holland was born in



Ink-and-wash drawing by Holland of HMS Campana, the exhibition ship of the Festival of Britain. Holland was chief designer of the floating exhibition, which visited 10 ports from Southampton and Dundee to Stranraer and Glasgow between May and October 1951.

Gillingham, Kent, the son of a naval blacksmith at Chatham. At his father's insistence he was sent not to grammar school but to a school of mathematics and studied navigation; his ship drawings earned him the President's Prize of the Royal Drawing School and a painting scholarship to Rochester School of Art, where he later returned

as a Governor. He went on to the Royal College of Art painting school in 1924, where amongst others he met and worked with Henry Moore and Edward Bawden and studied under Paul Nash.

Of his contemporaries, the Canadian painter James Boswell was notable. They became lifetime friends and the

two students made a number of painting trips to France on a shoestring budget. Holland held the first of many exhibitions while he was still at the college and he recalled the RCA sketch club gave him an invaluable opportunity to meet many of the leading painters, including Wilton Steer, Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell.

On graduating, Holland joined Foots & Belding, working on advertising accounts such as Shell, and was commissioned by Jack Beddington with John Bejerman to write copy. He worked with Misha Black on the 1937 Peace Pavilion in Paris and by the time he met and married Diana John in 1937 he was a member of the

London Group and the New England Art Club and had established himself as a freelance illustrator of some stature.

Also about this time Holland, with Boswell and James Filton, started the Artists International Association, a pacifist organisation of artists. In 1940 he was offered a post at the Ministry of Information in the exhibition design department; here he worked with Misha Black, Miller Gray and James Gardner. His experience at the MoI was to prove invaluable to the Festival of Britain. When the festival finally closed Holland returned to advertising.

Shortly after he was appointed Group Art Director at Erwin Wasey Advertising. Holland remarried in 1953 to Jacqueline Arnall, with whom he spent the rest of his life. He was elected President of the Society of Industrial Artists and Designers (SIAD) in 1960/61; then in 1963 he accepted the offer to return to teaching as Head of the Faculty of Visual Communication Design at Birmingham Polytechnic. This appointment allowed Holland vigorously to espouse his view that something taught was not something learnt. When in 1971 he retired from Birmingham he became Edu-

cation Officer to the SIAD. The society (now the Chartered Society of Designers), then representing over 8,000 designers, is the professional qualifying body. Holland played a leading role in course construction and was instrumental in bringing a new spirit of realism and professionalism into British design courses. In 1980 he published *Minerva at Fifty*, a history of the society.

James Holland thoroughly enjoyed his retirement, continuing to write and paint with characteristic energy until he died. He urged others to follow suit.

Diek Negus

James Sylvester Holland, painter and designer, born Gillingham, Kent 19 September 1905; staff, Ministry of Information, Festival of Britain 1949-51; OBE 1951; Art Director, Erwin Wasey 1952-63; President, Society of Industrial Artists and Designers 1960-61; Education Officer 1971-81; Head of Graphic Design, Birmingham Polytechnic 1963-71; married 1936 Diana John (two daughters; marriage dissolved 1950), 1953 Jacqueline Arnall (one son, one daughter); died Pembury, Kent 7 January 1996.

Ramón Vinay

No heroic tenor could boast a finer memorial than Ramón Vinay's in the recording of Verdi's *Otello*, conducted by Arturo Toscanini, broadcast by the NBC Symphony in December 1947. For the next dozen years the Chilean-born tenor was the outstanding exponent of the role in America and Europe. He was also a superb Tristan and Siegmund, an excellent Don José and Samson, an interesting interpreter of many other roles, but it was his *Otello* that captured the public imagination.

Though his voice may not have been as conventionally Italianate in quality as that of some of his successors, Mario del Monaco, Jon Vickers and Plácido Domingo, for example, it was a tremendously powerful and highly expressive instrument that, taken together with his strong dramatic presence and total absorption in the role, never failed to transport his audience. His first *Otello* in London, during La Scala's visit to Covent Garden in 1950, made an overwhelming impression on young persons like myself who had heard some good German opera, but nothing to match this in the Italian repertoire. Vinay soon demonstrated that he was also a magnificent Wagner singer. Like many another heroic tenor, he had started his career as a baritone, and retained a dark vocal colour that was particularly suited to tragic characters such as Tristan and Siegmund.

Vinay was born in Chillán, an agricultural town in Chile. His father was French, his mother Italian, and the boy was taken to France to be educated. He



Vinay (as Tristan) photographing fellow members of the cast of *Tristan und Isolde*, Covent Garden, 1956. Photograph: Hulton Deutsch

played the violin in the school orchestra, but did not sing. His education finished, he was sent to Mexico to gain experience in his father's saddlery and harness business. He began to study singing and to perform as an amateur, at this point as a baritone. Entering a radio competition sponsored by Coca Cola, he was heard by a representative of the Mexico City Opera, who engaged him for the company, and he made his debut in 1938 as Count Di Luna in *Il trovatore*. Other roles he sang

were Rigoletto and Scarpia. Then, finding his voice was changing, he studied further, and in 1943 made his tenor debut as Don José in *Carmen*. The following year Vinay sang his first *Otello* in Mexico City, also appearing as Samson, Cavaradossi and Des Grieux in Puccini's *Manon Lescaut*. Some of the performances were conducted by Jean Morel, who engaged him for the New York City Opera, where in the autumn of 1945 he made his debut as Don José. Vinay made

his Metropolitan debut in February 1946, again as Don José, followed by Radames in *Aida*. Then, owing to the illness of the tenor Torsten Ralf, he sang *Otello* in 1954 at La Scala. This performance led directly to his engagement by Toscanini to sing in the NBC broadcast and recording of Verdi's opera the following year, for which he was coached by the maestro himself.

In the summer of 1947 Vinay toured with the National Grand Opera Company of New York to various Italian cities, including Bologna, Florence and Turin, singing *Otello* and creating a furore wherever the company performed. He sang *Otello* on the opening night of the 1947/48 season at La Scala, to tremendous acclaim; he sang the role in September 1950, on the opening night of La Scala's visit to Covent Garden; he sang it in 1951 at the Salzburg Festival; he sang it in the Verona Arena, at the San Carlo, Naples, the Paris Opéra, in Santiago and Buenos Aires.

Although, by the mid-1950s, Vinay had clocked up more than 250 performances of *Otello*, he did not neglect other repertoire. Having made his San Francisco debut as Don José in 1949, the following year he sang his first Wagner role - Tristan, with Kirsten Flagstad as Isolde. This had not been easy to prepare as the multilingual Vinay knew no German; but by 1952, when he sang Tristan at Bayreuth, his enunciation of the text was as authentic as it always was in French and Italian. During his six seasons at Bayreuth Vinay also sang Siegmund (*Die Walküre*), Parsifal and Tann-

häuser. In 1953 he returned to Covent Garden to sing with the company, making his debut as Siegmund, and over the next seven years also sang Tristan and *Otello*. In 1954 at La Scala he sang the title role of Franco Alfano's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, scoring a personal triumph: the following year he tackled the purely lyrical role of Lenski in *Eugene Onegin* at the Holland Festival with equal success. Engaged at the Metropolitan for 16 seasons, he sang roles as diverse as Canio (*Pagliacci*), Tristan, Samson and Herod (*Salome*).

Vinay never put less than his entire resources, physical and psychological, into a performance, and after 25 years as a singer, 20 of them as a tenor, the strain inevitably began to show. In 1962 he reverted to the baritone category, and sang *Telemundo* in *Lohengrin* at Bayreuth. At San Francisco (1963/66) he sang Dr Schön in *Lulu*, Scarpia, both Rossini's and Mozart's Dr Bartolo and Verdi's Falstaff. Other baritone roles included Iago, which he sang in Santiago in a production of *Otello* that he directed himself. At the last performance, on 22 September 1969, Vinay returned to the role of *Otello*, singing just the final act as his farewell to the stage. He was apparently in very good voice, and the occasion, albeit emotional, was a triumph. He continued to direct opera for some years.

Elizabeth Forbes

Ramón Vinay, opera singer, born Chillán, Chile 31 August 1912; died Puebla, Mexico 4 January 1996.

Canon Douglas Rhymes

Douglas Rhymes was one of the unsung heroes of the turbulent years when Mervyn Stockwood was Bishop of Southwark, and South Bank Religion was all the rage. Although not recruited to the chapter at Southwark by Stockwood, Rhymes spent almost his entire ministry in the diocese, and was proud of having been appointed a minor canon, a residentiary canon and an honorary canon, ending up in 1984 as canon emeritus.

Rhymes was born in 1914. He was educated at King Edward VI School, Birmingham, and at Birmingham University, and trained for the priesthood at Ripon Hall. He served as assistant curate at Dovercourt in Essex, and in 1943 enlisted as an army chaplain. It was in 1950 that he was appointed sacristan at Southwark by Stockwood's predecessor, Bertram Simpson, "a charming person and a very good bishop in his way" as Rhymes used to recall. "But he would get his nitre all skewed and sit all day on his throne, showing his suspicious. When contributing reminiscences last summer for a forthcoming biography of Mervyn Stockwood, Douglas Rhymes described Southwark, in Simpson's day, as "a perfectly ordinary, normal diocese". He was one of those who made sure it did not remain so.

In 1962 Mervyn Stockwood put Douglas Rhymes in charge of lay training, made him canon librarian and invited him to teach ethics to the newly created Southwark Ordination Course, a bold appointment at the time, for although Rhymes had yet to make public his own sexual



Rhymes: absent-minded

parish priest. Eventually he retired to Fontwell, West Sussex.

Much to Mervyn Stockwood's astonishment, for he abhorred all church assemblies, Douglas Rhymes was a member of the General Synod for a decade from 1975. In debate he always spoke pastorally, for he was at heart a parish priest and a loving and lovable man, with a streak of Anglican eccentricity that endeared him to many of his friends, but not necessarily those whose briefcases he absent-mindedly wandered off with after Sunday sessions. He was, generally, accident-prone. Returning once from a holiday in Cornwall he stopped off to have a bath, only to have his car, and all the clothes he had left inside it, stolen. Decently kitted out again, he returned to Cornwall to retrieve his car, the police having found it - and promptly drove it into a wall.

Among the recreations he listed in *Who's Who* was conversation, an art in which he excelled. He was much more interested in other people than himself and had the perfect manners of a born listener.

Michael De-la-Noy

Douglas Alfred Rhymes, priest, born 26 March 1914; ordained deacon 1940, priest 1941; Sacrist, Southwark Cathedral 1950-54; Canon Residentiary and Librarian 1962-69 (Honorary Canon 1969, Canon Emeritus 1984); Vicar, All Saints, New Eltham 1954-62; Director of Lay Training, Diocese of Southwark 1962-68; Vicar, St Giles, Camberwell 1968-76; Parish Priest, Woldingham 1976-84; died Chichester 1 January 1996.

Rajat Neogy

Rajat Neogy was the founder and editor of *Transition*, one of Africa's most influential literary and cultural magazines.

It is hard to imagine a little magazine that influenced writers on a whole vast continent, but that is what happened with *Transition*. Neogy began his magazine at just the right time and it became a rallying-point throughout the 1960s. It helped that he was a local boy, with the experience of a British university, and it showed in the way he spoke, moving from Swahili, to Hindi, to English. Kampala then was a small green city, and Uganda was prosperous and full of distinguished people: in 1966, Chinua Achebe, VS Naipaul, Ali Mazrui, Ezekiel Mphahlele,

and distinguished anthropologists from Makerere. Neogy had lived through Uganda's later colonial years; its independence and hopeful years; he was also to experience its disintegration and terror.

We made our introductions through our work, and met in person later, which is the right sequence for writers to get acquainted. Africa was a small place then - or so it seemed, because it was one place, where writers were eagerly signalling to each other: Chinua and Wole and Chris Okigbo and Ulli Beier from Nigeria, Cameron Duodu from Ghana, Dennis Brutus and Nadine Gordimer and others from South Africa, Zeke and Ngugi from Kenya,

David Ruhadiri and I from Malawi, and yet others in the Sudan, Ethiopia, Zambia, Tanzania. Nearly all these signals were directed towards Uganda, where Rajat Neogy edited them for publication in *Transition*.

Neogy was brave, he was forthright and funny, he was a tease; he had tremendous confidence, not the fearful bravado that was common among some Ugandans, but a stylish poise that was both intellectual and social. He was handsome, clever and young. He used all his gifts. He travelled. His magazine mattered. He liked me, he published my work - he was the first publisher of my work - and I felt lucky to know him. One of his strangest requests

to me - but typical Neogy - was that I agree to sign a paper saying that I had committed adultery with his wife, Lotte. This was 1965. Adultery was grounds for divorce in Uganda, and it had to be proven. "I wouldn't ask this of anyone else," he said. "I am asking you because you're my friend." Well, that was true, but Kampala was such a small place that I was afraid of the social consequences: I was not married, and I did not want to be known in town as a "co-responder". Neogy said that he had excellent contacts at the Uganda Argus - the printers also worked on *Transition* - so he would see to it that my name would not appear in the Court column, where divorces

and criminal convictions and bankruptcies were listed, once a week in very small print.

Although I had never laid a hand on the woman, Anne Castle, he was a witness at our wedding - his elegant signature on our marriage certificate. Neogy married two more times and fathered six children, now scattered around the world.

In those years, because we were friends, because we were in Africa, I saw him every day. (I had started out as a Lecturer at Makerere; a few years later, at Makerere, I was Acting Head of the Adult Studies Centre.) Neogy's natural element was at a large table - City Bar on Kampala Road

was one. He sat, he talked, he teased, he encouraged; he then went back to his office and worked on his magazine. We all assumed that Uganda would just get better. Naipaul disagreed. The politicians were clearly opportunists and crooks, he said. "This country will turn back into jungle."

We did not really know what would happen. You never do. But it got worse, many of us left. Neogy stayed and got thrown into jail for sedition - criticising the Ugandan government, something he had been doing for years. His detention in prison might have broken him. Or was it disillusionment? It was revealed that for some years the magazine had been partly fund-

ed by the CIA, the grubby money dispensed by the clean hands of the Farfield Foundation (*Encounter* magazine was another recipient). He brought his magazine to Ghana in 1970 and edited it for two years. He then went to the United States, and he just about vanished. He was found dead a month ago in the San Francisco hotel which had been his home for a number of years. He was 57.

After he left Africa, he was not the same. But when I knew him he was brilliant. His friendship meant everything to me.

Paul Theroux

Rajat Neogy, editor, born Kampala, Uganda 1938; died San Francisco 3 December 1995.

Births, Marriages & Deaths

DEATHS

WILSON: Dermot Needham Funnell, MC, on 10 January 1996 at Salisbury District Hospital, after a long illness, aged 71. Much-loved husband of Renee, father of Fergus. Private family funeral. Donations in his memory to Salisbury Hospice Care Trust, c/o LN Newman Ltd Funeral Directors, Griffin House, 35 Winchester Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire SP1 1HL. Thanking for Dermot's life, at a date to be announced later.

MEMORIAL SERVICES

WARNER: A service to celebrate the life of Sir Fred Warner will take place at St Peter's Church, Kewington Park Road, (opposite Stanley Gardens), London W11, on Thursday 25 January at 5.30pm.

IN MEMORIAM

VOGEL: Edith, pianist and teacher, died 15 January 1992. The rest is silence. I miss you, beloved. Jeff.

For Gazette, telephone 0171-293 2011.

Marriages

Mr C. Brocklebank-Fowler and Mrs D. Rycroft. The marriage took place in Edinburgh on Saturday 13 January between Mrs Dorothea Rycroft (née Evans), of Murrayfield, and Christopher Brocklebank-Fowler, of Fitcham, Norfolk.

Birthdays

Princess Michael of Kent, 51; Margaret Beckett MP, 53; Mr Chuck Berry, singer, 70; Mr Frank Bough, television presenter, 63; Mr Lloyd Bridges, actor, 83; Mr Nigel Briens, cricketer, 41; Sir Neil Cossons, Director of the Science Museum, 57; Lord Dacre of Glanton, historian, 82; Miss Jane Drabble, assistant managing director, and Head of Factual Programmes, BBC Network Television, 49; Dame Mary Hong QC, High Court judge, 49; Sir John Jacon, former Editor, *Sunday Express*, 77; Mr Melvin J. Laskey, former Editor of *Entertainment*, 76; Sir Thomas Monson, High Court judge, 57; Miss Margaret O'Brien, actress, 59; Mr Paul Parker, cricketer, 40; Mr Colin Parsons, chairman, Taylor Woodrow, 62; Miss Maria Schell, actress, 70; Lord Simon

of Glaisdale, former Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, 85; Sir John Smith QC, Emeritus Professor of Law, Nottingham University, 74; Mr John Tairine, author, 75; Mr Frank Thornton, actor and comedian, 75; Sir John Worle, barrister, 72.

Anniversaries

Births: Mollie (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin), playwright, baptised 1602; Aristide Onassis, shipowner, 1906; Martin Luther King, black civil rights leader, 1929; Deaths: Emma, Lady Hamilton (Lyon), mistress to Lord Nelson, 1815; Daisy (Margaret Mary Julia) Ashford (Mrs James Devlin), author of *The Young Haters*, 1972. On this day the British Museum opened, 1759; women were first able to take degrees at London University, 1878. Today is the Feast Day of St Bonitus or Bonet, St Colwulf, St Isidore of Alexandria, St Ita. St John Calybits and St Macarius the Elder.

Lectures

Oxford University, Sheldonian Theatre: Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "The Diplomatic Role of the United Nations Secretary-General", 5pm.

Royal Institute of International Affairs

The meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs which was to have been addressed by Dr Khalil Shikaki at 5.30pm on Tuesday 16 January has been postponed until Monday 25 March 1996 at 5.30pm.

Gray's Inn

Mr Robert Graham Marshall-Andrews QC, Mr David Roderic Notley Hunt QC, Mr John Anthony Roberts QC and Mr John Edward Mitting QC have been elected Masters of the Bench of Gray's Inn. Sir Alister Kneller, the Hon Sir Joannam Gonzalez-Sabola, Mme. Justine Leprieu, Judge Gil Carlos Rodriguez Iglesias and the Hon Sir Anthony Campbell have been elected Honorary Masters of the Bench.

ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS

Private: Alexandra, as Princess, attends a reception to mark the 20th anniversary of the opening of the Royal Stat and Chamber House for Disabled Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen at the Marine House, London EC2.

Changing of the Guard

The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mounts "The Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards" 11am.

The following notes of judgments were prepared by the reporters of the All England Law Reports.

Doctor

McCauley v General Medical Council; FC (Lord Goff of Chieveley, Lord Nicholas of Birkenhead, Lord Hoffmann); 11 Dec 1995. Seriously negligent misconduct by a doctor in the treatment of patients could amount to serious professional misconduct and result in erasure of the doctor's name from the register of medical practitioners. *John Mitting QC (Gambins Storer Cowdry) for the doctor; Joanna Glynn (Field Fisher Waterhouse) for the GMC.*

Employment

Marley UK Ltd v Anderson; CA (Russell, White, Schiemann LJ); 13 Dec 1995.

In considering under s 67(2) of the Employment Protection (Consolidation) Act 1978

CASE SUMMARIES

15 January 1996

Bowers (Hartman & Hartman, Canterbury) for the employee.

Evidence

R v M; CA (Crim Div) (Lord Taylor of Gossforth CJ, Kay, Brian Sedley JJ); 21 Nov 1995. An application for a video recording of a complainant's evidence to be played a second time at a criminal trial should be granted only if the request was made specifically by the jury. Such a replay should be discouraged because it was a departure from the normal course of the way in which evidence at a criminal trial was heard, and should only be made if there were exceptional reasons for doing so.

Robin Pearce Wheatley (Registrar of Criminal Appeals) for the appellants; Rebecca Poulton QC (CPS) for the Crown.

Value added tax

Customs and Excise Commissioners v Midland and another; The Queen; QB (Brooke J); 16 Nov 1995.

A case, concerning a hotel which hired a coach providing transport for its customers at an inclusive price, was referred to the European Court of Justice under art 177 of the Treaty of Rome to establish the meaning in Community law of the terms "travel agent" and "tour operator". Different VAT tribunals had adopted different approaches to the question and the interpretation of the meaning of those terms could not be resolved without a reference. Customs claimed the hotel was a tour operator subject to the Tour Operators' Margin Scheme (VAT leaflet 709/88).

Jeremy Woolf (Rice-Jones & Smiths) for the taxpayers; Stephen Richards (Customs & Excise Solicitor) for the Crown.

A stake through the heart of old simplicities

Neither Old Left nor New Right understands Tony Blair's stakeholder economics, but they know it spells death to the old form of politics in this country, writes David Marquand

The dismissive mockery with which Michael Portillo and Ken Livingstone greeted Tony Blair's economy is more revealing than the applause it evoked in other quarters.

Not for the first – or the last – time, the New Right and the Old Left are at one. Neither understands what Blair is saying, but both sense that he spells death to the old politics in which both are mired. Both are afraid of him; and both clothe their fears in a world-weary superciliousness.

For the New Right and Old Left are prisoners of a mind-set which has dominated political discourse for the greater part of this century, and to which the very idea of moving towards a stakeholder economy is alien. That mind-set was both child and parent of the great ideological contest between socialism and capitalism which began in the closing decades of the 19th century, and which lasted until the closing decades of this.

The view of the world that it engendered was Manichaean: light against darkness, good against evil, progress against reaction. For Manichaeans, the notion that reality consists of different shades of grey is at once inconceivable and terrifying.

The idea of the unregulated free market, the holy grail of our government for 15 years, is a chimera

But the Manichaean ascendancy has ended with the end of the Cold War. On the economic plane, though only on the economic plane, the contest between socialism and capitalism has resulted in a conclusive victory for capitalism. The socialist ethic of solidarity and fellowship is as compelling as ever. In some ways, it is even more compelling now than it was 100 years ago, for it alone offers an answer to the deadly cocktail of Sixties social individualism and Eighties economic individualism that threatens to drown us all.

The economics of socialism, on the other hand, have been fatally discredited. The primordial socialist assumption that central planning and public ownership were, by definition, more efficient than market co-ordination and private ownership – an assumption held as fervently by resolute British Fabians as by ruthless Russian Bolsheviks – has turned out to be the reverse of the truth. If productive power is the test of a social system, then the capitalist market economy is the most successful social system ever known.

But this is only the beginning of the story. The neo-liberal tri-

umphalism of the early Nineties, who confused the economic victory of capitalism with the end of history, were premature. What we have in fact entered is a new historical chapter, enormously richer and more confusing than the last, in which the terrible simplicities of the past 100 years no longer have meaning.

The question is no longer whether capitalism should be replaced by socialism, or the market by the state. It is what kind of capitalism we should embrace, where the boundaries of the marketplace should lie, how and by whom markets should be regulated. Behind these questions loom more fundamental ones.

Granted that capitalism has won the economic battle and granted, too, that the socialist ethic is even more sorely needed than it used to be, what form of capitalism is most congruent with that ethic? Granted that the production of most goods and services should be governed by market criteria, what kind of market economy is most likely to sustain a vibrant public domain, strong enough to nurture the community values which make a healthy civil society possible and governed by the principles of citizenship and solidarity?

For now that we have emerged, eyes blinking, into the post-Cold War daylight, we can see that capitalist market economies are not all of a piece. No doubt they all spring from the same fundamental propensity to truck, barter and exchange which Adam Smith thought intrinsic to human nature. But, like all the great universalist simplifiers, from Plato to Marx to Hayek, Smith obscured as much as he illuminated. Sexual desire is also intrinsic to human nature. So is the fear of death. Yet different societies regulate sexual behaviour and cope with death in widely differing ways.

So it is with the market. Markets are social constructs, embedded in societies, shaped by societies and sustained by societies. The unregulated free market which has been the holy grail of British government for more than 15 years is a chimera. All markets are regulated – if not by the state, then by custom, convention and the institutions of civil society. Because of this, the rational market agent, that ghostly phantom which has obsessed economists for about a century, is also a chimera.

What is rational in one society may be irrational in another. That, in turn, means that market economies do not all behave in the same way or produce the same outcomes. Some are more productive, more environmentally friendly and more socially cohesive than others.

In nailing his colours to the stakeholder mast, Mr Blair has shown that he is at home in this complex and challenging new world of variety and nuance. Albeit only tentatively and in embryo, he is proposing a politics for grown-ups in place of the infantilism of the Portillos and the Livingstones. Above all, he is opening the door to a left-of-centre



project for government, more radical than anything attempted in this country in modern times.

For whatever else the notion of a stakeholder economy may or may not imply, it must imply a profound break with the assumptions and practices that have been central to Britain's shareholder capitalism for nearly 300 years.

At the heart of the stakeholder concept lies the simple proposition that property must discharge obligations to the wider community as well as to its owners; that the decisions of a capitalist firm must reflect the interests of its employees, its suppliers and the localities in which it operates as well as those of its shareholders.

The proposition runs against the grain of a conception of property rights that has been fundamental to British capitalism since its dawn in the 17th and 18th centuries. The British version of the capitalist market economy was born out of a revolt against conditional property in the name of absolute property, against the medieval principles of the just

price and *noblesse oblige* in the name of the unfettered right of the property owner to do what he would with his own.

Though the rights of property were, in practice, curtailed in the following 300 years, sometimes thanks to enlightened property owners themselves, the attitudes and assumptions formed during that revolt have never been abandoned. They permeated the institutions and operational codes of the state; they shaped the legal system and company law; they underpinned the mainstream tradition in economics. And they still do.

One reason they have never been seriously challenged is that they have influenced the mentality of the left as much as that of the right. For the best part of 80 years, socialists and anti-socialists alike have repeated the same Gertrude Steinian mantra: property is property. Anti-socialists have done so because they have feared that any dilution of property rights would begin the slippery slope to socialist expropriation. Socialists have done so because they have been so eager to replace capitalism altogether that the idea of swapping one model of capitalism for another has seemed to them irrelevant, or treacherous, or both.

One result is that the British trade union movement has been more anxious to screw the highest possible wages out of hostile employers than to share managerial power and the responsibilities that go with it. Another is that the occasional Labour governments which have flitted across the British political scene have left the fundamentals of British capitalism virtually unchanged. The British mixed economy, inaugurated by the post-war Labour government, was a mix of British capitalism with the British state. It was less a new model than the familiar old model with a slightly different chassis.

Now Mr Blair has signalled a break with this tradition. If the signal is followed by action, it will be the best thing to have happened to the British left in my adult lifetime. But the proviso is crucial. It is easy to say you want a stakeholder economy. It is much more difficult to face down the massive nexus of vested interests – international as well as domestic – which stands in the way.

Moving towards a stakeholder form of capitalism would imply, at the very least, radical changes in company law, radical changes in the financial system, radical changes in industrial relations and radical changes in the relationship between central and local government. The role and status of a company would have to be redefined, so that managers had a duty to stakeholders as well as to shareholders. The insistent pressure of the stock market would have to be hunted. Capital would have to accept organised labour as a social partner, and organised labour would have to accept the obligations of partnership. Central

government would have to free local government from the financial strings of Whitehall, so that local stakeholders could jointly determine how best to develop their local economies.

Even this is only the beginning. Stakeholder capitalism is more competitive in the global marketplace, and more popular with the world's currency markets, than shareholder ones. The short-termism, asset-stripping under-investment and disdain for human capital that are endemic in the Anglo-American version of shareholder capitalism may be good for property owners in the short term, but they are sure sources of relative economic decline and currency depreciation in the long term.

Unfortunately, it does not follow that the world's financial markets will look with favour on a switch from the shareholder to the stakeholder model in the early stages, before the new policies have had time to work. Without measures to de-couple the domestic economy from increasingly feverish global capital markets, no such switch can be made. And the only realistic measure in sight is early entry into a European Monetary Union – with all that that implies for the sacred British tradition of absolute West-

In the post-Cold War daylight, we can see clearly that capitalist market economies are not all of a piece

minster sovereignty. That leads on to the most radical implication of all. The absolute ownership of the shareholder mirrors the absolute sovereignty of the Crown-in-Parliament, and the absolutist conception of political power that flows from it.

Stakeholder economics demands stakeholder politics. And stakeholder politics must be the politics of power-sharing, negotiation and mutual education – a politics that requires the transformation of the British constitution and the reconstruction of the British state.

Mr Blair has gone too far to turn back. His only choice is to charge on. When battle starts – as start it will – he will need all the help he can get.

The writer is director of the Political Economy Research Centre in Sheffield University and Principal Elect of Mansfield College, Oxford.

For details of an international conference on stakeholder capitalism to be held at the University of Sheffield on 28 and 29 March, write to: Sylvia McColl, PERC, University of Sheffield, Elmfield, Northumbria Road, Sheffield, S10 2TY. Telephone 0114 282 6298 or fax 0114 275 9921.

DIARY



Told his own kisses, thanks

Minister's memoirs

Which government minister is toying with the intriguing title *More Room on Top* for his up-coming memoirs? It can only be Steven Norris, the transport minister, best known for his fleet of girlfriends (seven at the last count). His could be a very rare example of a kiss-and-tell memoir where it is the minister doing the telling.

Mr Norris, one of the greener (in the nicest sense) transport ministers of recent years, may be a Major supporter and has been knocking on the door of the Cabinet for some time. But the Prime Minister is unlikely to be overjoyed at the

prospect of the re-telling of the sexual encounters of one of his ministers. Mr Norris, of course, is separated from his wife, one of the reasons why he has the dubious distinction of being the only minister to survive newspaper claims of "scandals" in his private life.

According to Mr Norris, he is a loyal Conservative who is publishing the book partly to put the record straight on his private life.

If Mr Major needs advice on how to respond to the Norris memoir, he can always take advice from a senior spin doctor at Conservative Central Office, Sheila Gunn, one of the many former Norris flames.

Kohls' notes

This week will be a particularly busy one for the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl. For, in addition to his mundane regular duties, he is to attend a book launch – his own.

It emerges that Herr Kohl and his wife, Hannelore, have been quietly penning a cookbook, *Culinary Journey Through Germany*, based on the multifarious Bratwurst and Schnitzel delights they have popped into their mouths since he came into



Cooking for their country

office. Not all the recipes, however, will be to everybody's taste. One of the Chancellor's favourite dishes, apparently, is stuffed pig's stomach. The book should do wonders for the Euro-sceptic Vegetarian Society.

New step for Disco Di

Readers' ideas of how the conversation between the Princess of Wales and Madonna would have flowed over their high tea together have been plentiful. I'm pleased to say, a number of you showed convincing evidence of wasted youth by weaving large numbers of Madonna song titles (most notably "Express Yourself") into the conversation. But the prize goes to David Lockwood from Leamington Spa who speculated that Madonna and Diana were discussing the latter's plans for a post-divorce career as a

pop star – The Artist Formerly Known As Princess.

Poet of the week

Hastings' finest poet, Fiona Pitt-Kethley, may be going to Amsterdam if her luck (and that of Hastings) is in. I hear that the well-travelled Ms P-K, who recently married chess grandmaster James Plaskett, has taken to entering competitions to aid her much-trumpeted fiscal worries. The *Big Issue*, the journal produced to aid the homeless, recently offered its readers the chance to win a trip to Amsterdam in return for naming their favourite Van Gogh painting. A postcard from Ms P-K duly arrived carrying her choice, "Skull with a cigarette". Let's hope she wins and starts a series: poets win prizes.



Fiona P-K: fiscals in a twist

Chrissakes!

On Friday, the *New Christian Herald*, a weekly newspaper for evangelical Christians, is to be launched, with a print run of 45,000, twice the circulation of its rivals. Its editor is one Russ Brann, who sounds like he comes from the Cliff Richard school of hip but wholesome evangelicism. Mr Brann, a former journalist with the *Derby Evening Telegraph*, is suitably gung-ho about his paper's prospects.

"We're going where the rubber hits the road as far as faith is concerned," he proclaims. It is good to know that modern evangelicals prefer the whiff of burning rubber to that of brimstone, but the first problem of the new paper is to get its handbrake off.

It has signed a deal with the Evangelical Alliance, an organisation that claims to represent a million Christians, to be the official sponsor of its 150th anniversary celebrations for an undisclosed sum. The celebrations started at the weekend with a jubilee at Wembley Arena, a week before the launch of the *New Christian Herald*. The launch, apparently, was unavoidably delayed by an unforeseen development, Christmas.

Eagle Eye

Generation Why

by Tony Reeve and Steve Way



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Apparantly, it was not uncommon for sailors or passengers to be mistakenly pronounced dead. This was the final test.
Yours sincerely,
TIM CRAIG
Hindford, Shropshire

Will Europe ever be ready for the Euro?

With even the mighty Germany unable to meet the requirements for monetary union, plans for a single currency by 1999 seem doomed

How quickly pleasure can turn to pain, hope to despair and optimism to embarrassment. Only one month ago, European Union leaders meeting in Madrid were congratulating themselves on having finally chosen a name for the planned single currency – the Euro – and on having set out in detail the process by which monetary union would start in January 1999 and be completed in 2002.

For a moment, it seemed that this most politically driven of European projects could really begin on schedule despite concerns about the economic health of numerous would-be participants. In Madrid, few EU leaders wanted to be reminded of problems such as those in France, where prolonged public-sector strikes and an anticipated slowdown in growth appeared to be undermining the government's chances of meeting the Maastricht treaty's conditions on low budget deficits.

Now, however, a new and potentially devastating obstacle to the Euro's successful birth has arisen from a most unexpected quarter – Germany, the economic power-

house of Europe and linchpin of the monetary union plan. Data published last week showed that the German economy had all but spluttered to a halt, with growth of only 1.9 per cent in 1995, unemployment up sharply last month from 9.3 to 9.9 per cent, rising bankruptcies and weak industrial orders.

Worse still, Germany's Finance Minister, Theo Waigel, who had spent the closing months of 1995 arguing for stricter measures to ensure EU budgetary discipline after the Euro's launch, was obliged to confess that Germany had failed last year to meet Maastricht's stipulation that a country entering monetary union should have a budget deficit of no more than 3 per cent of Gross Domestic Product. Germany's 1995 deficit turned out to be 3.6 per cent, a figure that shocked German economists and provided scope for much Schadenfreude in the press of other EU countries.

"Jesus Christ is dead, Karl Marx is dead, and even Germany isn't feeling very well," the Milan newspaper *Corriere della Sera* wrote mockingly. A wicked but understandable gibe:

it was Mr Waigel who asserted last year that Italy would fail to meet the grade for the single currency.

Before assessing whether the Euro is still on course for its 1999 launch, it is worth observing that no EU country in its senses should seek comfort from Germany's troubles. A slowdown in the German economy means fewer imports from other EU states, and this translates into lower growth and higher unemployment across the whole of the EU.

British opponents of the single currency should bear in mind that the most likely reason for delaying monetary union will be a recession or so-called "pause in growth" in the European economy that puts the Maastricht targets on low deficits and public debts beyond the reach of key countries such as France, Italy, Belgium and, it seems, even Germany. Yet Britain, with its opt-out from joining the single currency in 1999, would have no cause for joy, since any recession or slowdown in other EU states would hit British jobs and prosperity as well.

That said, it does seem increasingly strange for EU governments to



TONY BARBER

The choice of 1999 was essentially political in nature

be engaged in drastic budget-cutting and tax-raising measures at a time of low growth and stubbornly high unemployment – 11 per cent across the EU as a whole. Governments have been forced into this policy straitjacket for the sake of meeting fiscal targets for a year that was quite arbitrarily selected by negotiators meeting in a Dutch town in 1991. "One cannot conceive of monetary union with 11 per cent unem-

ployment," Italy's Prime Minister, Lamberto Dini, said last week. "This negative record must be corrected in a lasting way."

The defence put forward by the men of Maastricht is that they expected the European economy to be on the up in the late 1990s and so it would prove relatively easy for most countries to meet the treaty's conditions. However, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the choice of 1999 was essentially political in nature, designed to ensure that monetary union got under way, come hell or high water, before the end of the century.

EU leaders agreed in Madrid that they would decide in early 1998 which countries have qualified for monetary union. Obviously, the only country that currently meets all Maastricht's conditions in full is Luxembourg, which contains 0.1 per cent of the EU's population.

During this year and 1997, therefore, we can expect to see a feverish scramble in most EU states to cap spending and cut public debts at just the time when the European economy needs a return to expan-

sion. In France, where the conservative government's austerity measures recently provoked the worst social unrest since 1968, it is quite likely that the government will have to impose more belt-tightening this year in order to meet Maastricht's deficit target.

This can only put more downward pressure on French growth, delay a fall in unemployment and contribute to social tension. In the country where the Maastricht treaty was only narrowly approved in a 1992 referendum, it is quite possible that public opinion will see fewer and fewer merits in monetary union.

However, all this need not mean the Euro is doomed. For one thing, a little-noticed clause in Maastricht, Article 109j (4), could be interpreted to let the EU choose a date other than January 1999 for launching monetary union.

Under this clause, the EU would have to pick another date by the end of 1997. Although many EU countries still refuse to contemplate the possibility of postponing monetary union, Maastricht provides an escape route if governments want to use it.

Another possibility is that the EU will put a favourable gloss on the fiscal performances of member-states keen to get the Euro going. Maastricht says that countries can be deemed to have qualified for the single currency if their deficits and debts are heading consistently towards, rather than actually meeting, the specified targets of 3 per cent and 60 per cent of GDP.

Until recently, Mr Waigel was insisting Germany would forbid any laxity in interpreting this section of Maastricht, but Germany's surprisingly high 1995 deficit has undermined his case. Conversely, it has helped countries such as France and Belgium which may struggle to reach the Maastricht deficit and debt levels in time but which can argue that they are on the right path.

Paradoxically, Germany's economic difficulties may therefore make it more likely that the Euro starts on schedule. Postponement of monetary union for a few years is certainly a strong possibility, but it is too early yet to rule out a launch as planned in 1999.

You've nothing to gain but your chains

Here's an idea, Mr Howard. Instead of locking up criminals in expensive prisons, why not shackle them to the nearest lamppost?



NIALL FERGUSON

There are some people – I would guess around 100 per cent of the readers of this newspaper and all their friends and relatives – who are deeply shocked by the notion of women giving birth in shackles. Indeed, by attempting to defend the policy of chaining pregnant prisoners like dogs, Ann Widdicombe last week pulled off a remarkable feat: she made herself even more unpopular than Michael Portillo.

I admit even I was momentarily appalled – mainly at the sheer incompetence of those responsible for this public relations fiasco. Yes, people escape from the slammer – they always will. After all, if men could escape from Devil's Island, Alcatraz and Colditz, then there is no such thing as an escape-proof nick. But the Home Office has never really recovered from the great escapes from White-moor and Parkhurst. I don't know where Michael Howard has been since the shackles story blew up (something of a great escape on his part), but his fingerprints are all over this. It's the perfect Conservative conference gag: "Now that's what I call hard labour!"

Obviously, it is absurd to handcuff a woman who is giving birth; here I am in agreement with *Independent* readers. Even one who thinks she might be going into labour is unlikely to do a runner. The Home Office line is that 20 female prisoners have escaped from hospitals in the last five years. But only one of them was pregnant. It seems quite incredible that her foolhardy escapee –

she jumped from a first-floor window – should have been the basis for a policy as unpalatable as this.

Nevertheless, to react with mere righteous indignation is ingenuous. For there is a logic (albeit somewhat Swiftian logic) to the reintroduction of the shackle – even, dare I say it, for mothers-to-be.

Our society's system of criminal justice relies heavily on imprisonment – too heavily, in my view. A lot of us are, have been or will be behind bars at some point in our lives. Though it is still short of its 1988 peak, the prison population is high at around 50,000, or 0.15 per cent of the adult population – the second highest in the European Union.

And this despite the fact that less than 30 per cent of crimes are ever "cleared up"; despite the fact that a rising proportion of offenders never even make it into court; and despite the fact that less than 15 per cent of those convicted actually receive custodial sentences. If we sent as many of those convicted to prison as we did in 1900, the prison population would be four times larger!

Who are today's cons? Not, on the whole, the serial killers and rapists whose crimes make the front pages. In fact, the

majority of prisoners have committed crimes against property or involving drugs – less than a third are in for crimes against the person. And most prisoners are serving sentences of less than four years. In this respect, the women in the shackles were typical. Sue Edwards (handcuffed throughout the birth of her baby girl) was serving three years for burglary. Annette Walker (shackled for 10 out of the 12 hours she was in labour) was jailed for four years after snatching a handbag containing £5,100 – far from her first offence. Kathleen MacKay (chained for 24 hours a day in hospital when 22 weeks pregnant) was jailed for shoplifting.

In only two respects are they untypical: the fact that they are women, who are still a tiny minority (around 10 per cent) of prisoners; and the fact that they were pregnant.

Locking up the likes of Sue, Annette and Kathleen costs money. Contrary to popular belief, the Tories have not started the Prison Service of cash: on the contrary, expenditure on prisons has roughly trebled since 1982, and the ratio of inmates per prison officer has been halved. And yet the impression is inescapable that the prison system is not delivering (apart

from a few babies, that is) Crime – or rather public anxiety about it – shows no real sign of abating, rates of re-offending by those released from prison are depressingly high.

Which is why the policy of shackles – at first sight so repugnant – is in fact an unrecognised stroke of genius. The only real mistake the Home Office has made has been to use shackles so sparingly – as a mere extension to imprisonment for those (such as pregnant women) who temporarily have to be let out of their cells, instead of as a complete alternative to incarceration.

This is my modest proposal (I leave the think-tank policy wonks to work out the details). Stop building new prisons; in fact, start demolishing them. Instead of locking up convicted criminals in expensive asylums where they merely teach one another even worse habits, simply shackle them.

It does not matter where. As the recent cases of manacled mothers show, shackles can be worn whatever the individual happens to be doing. And that is just the beauty of my proposal. Criminals will be able to lead virtually normal lives after they have been sentenced. They will merely have to endure the stigma and discomfort of doing everything, signing on, doing the shopping, betting on the horses, going down the pub – in shackles.

I emphasise particularly the stigma which attaches to wearing a chain, even without a large black metal ball attached. Annette Walker's letter published in the *Guardian* last week made this abundantly clear. "I was in pain, embarrassed, crying... I wouldn't want (my children) to see what I am having to go through as they couldn't or wouldn't understand or believe this is happening to a human being who has never hurt anyone in her life physically. ... I hid under the sheet sobbing. ...



Kathleen MacKay, a jailed shoplifter, chained to bed in hospital for 24 hours a day when she was 22 weeks pregnant

The shame I felt in these chains... I just wanted to die. It is so wrong. I have never been a burden to social services. ...

Well, no, Annette you didn't hurt anyone physically. You robbed them. Which is why you weren't a burden on the social services but a burden on the Prison Service. The fact that something finally made you feel shame – which implicitly you don't feel about being in prison – is really rather impressive.

The more I think about this idea, the more I like it. Shackles, after all, are inexpensive compared with prison cells. And there is no particular need for people to be shack-

led to prison officers, who cannot be expected to spend 12 hours at a stretch in the delivery suite every time a convict takes it into her head to give birth. No, lampposts will do for minor offenders. Perhaps we might even consider some purpose-built stocks, appropriately located in town centres.

Are you reading this, Mr Howard? Are you following my train of thought? Because I'm offering you two election-winning slogans for the price of one, you know. "That's the sound of the mums – working on the chain gang." And "Burglars of Britain, unite. You have nothing to gain but your chains."



Stocks: a neat alternative to shackles?

It's time for Scotland to turn the clocks forward

The proposed British Time Bill will improve the quality of life for most Scots, says Brian Wilson

As I write, dusk is falling. It is bleak, miserable and 4pm. The idea that because I am Scottish I have some unique gloomy attachment to this unnecessary state of affairs is misguided and now is the time to say so. Our Presbyterian nation, in which spiritual darkness is often bemoaned, should rise up and say: "Let there be light." This Friday, MPs will have the opportunity to do so during the second reading of John Butterfill's British Time (Extra Daylight) Bill.

We all have sympathy with Shetland crofters and it is true that some of them who attend to their agricultural duties in the mornings would spend an hour more of their pre-breakfast time in darkness on (according to the pro-change lobby) 40 days of the year. This is regrettable, though not more so than for their counterparts in northern Sweden, who survive happily on European time.

However, it should be remembered that Lerwick is more distant from the central belt of Scotland than is London. There is, therefore, a balance of consideration within Scotland as elsewhere.

A columnist in the *Sornway Gazette*, not exactly a publication of the effete South, recently commented on

the heart-rending account which someone in Oban persuasively offered to *Today* listeners about how he was suffering darkness while people in the South, even without change, were enjoying daylight. The writer found this difficult to understand since he, 100-odd miles further north, was at that moment watching dawn breaking. Beware the over-egging of the pudding.

Michael Forsyth, the Secretary of State for Scotland, should certainly have done so before jumping in so prematurely to denounce the Butterfill Bill. Apart from his allegiance to the farmers' lobby, Forsyth was presumably motivated by a desire not to be outbid by the Nationalists, for whom any proposal which emanates from Bournemouth must by definition be tainted with anti-Scottish prejudice.

Forsyth's determination not to be left behind in the rush for the bandwagon raised the stakes and could possibly condemn the Bill to an early death. His ability to stop its progress became a litmus test of his own influence and standing. If he fails, ridicule will descend upon him.

It would have been a lot better if Forsyth had taken account of the clear division which exists within Scotland

and had done his bit to prevent this becoming an artificial Scotland-England encounter.

After Butterfill's intention was declared, I wrote an article in my own local newspaper. If one was to believe some of the more hysterical opponents of change, I should have expected a deluge of hostile letters and demonstrations in support of evening dark-

ness. In fact, I have not had a single critical letter. MPs' mail-bags are much smaller than boasted of, but if an MP has caused offence then he certainly hears about it from his constituents.

Among the Scottish organisations supporting change are the Association of Police Officers (Scotland); the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents (Scotland); the Scottish Sports Council; the Scottish Chamber of Commerce; and the National Playing Fields Association of Scotland. Not a bad

line-up! Fortunately, some Scottish Labour and Liberal MPs take a more measured view than Forsyth and will be giving the Bill a fair hearing.

My reasons for favouring change are straightforward. First, I respect the evidence that it is likely to lead to fewer accidents, particularly those involving children. This is unprovable one way or another until genuinely comparable figures can be obtained, and we cannot have these without at least an experiment. The Transport Research Laboratory believes the change would be likely to lead to 60 fewer deaths and serious injuries and 270 fewer slight injuries a year on Scottish roads, taking account of travel patterns and the fact that more accidents occur in the afternoon than the morning.

I am wary of such precise hypothetical statistics, but the general point surely cannot be dismissed lightly, as Forsyth has sought to do.

Most of the other arguments cancel themselves out. Yes, I am sympathetic to postmen facing increased risks of attacks through working in the dark. But, equally, I am concerned for women who are vulnerable to attacks as they make their way home from work in the early evening.

All these points can be evaluated only once the change is made. Parliament could then change back again, if it so wished. What is incontrovertible, in Scotland as in the rest of Britain, is that there would be more time all year round for people to enjoy the pleasures of daylight. The Scottish jibe that this is all to serve the interests of "the South of England leisure industry" is paranoia at its most absurd. Do we not also have a leisure industry in Scotland? And do we not have a population that wants and needs more leisure? Are our noses to be cut off to spite the faces of "the English"?

Forsyth's colleagues in the Cabinet should tell him to hop off and support a genuinely free vote in the House of Commons. If the Bill survives on Friday, I am going to take democracy one stage further and allow my constituents to influence how I vote by conducting a ballot through my local press. Perhaps if every Scottish MP did the same, the polarised position which the Tories and the Nationalists have decided is expedient would seem even more fallible.

The writer is Labour MP for Cumbernauld North.

Winner of the Crime Writers' Association's
GOLD DAGGER AWARD
for the best crime novel of the year

THE
MERMAIDS
SINGING
VAL
McDERMID

'Compelling and shocking'
Minette Walters

'England's answer to *The Silence of the Lambs*...
A bombshell of a plot... It is truly, horribly good'
Frances Hegarty, Mail on Sunday

'Well written and powerful, with a neat twist
at the very end'
Times Literary Supplement

HarperCollinsPublishers

Alliance and Leicester likely to float soon

DIANE COYLE

Alliance and Leicester Building Society will give free shares to all its members when it floats on the stockmarket - a move likely to be announced shortly. Unlike Woolwich, which last week announced its decision to convert to a bank, Alliance would not have "carpetbaggers" who had only recently opened accounts from cashing in on the windfall.

speculation. "It is something that we are looking hard at but a decision has not been made." She confirmed that if the decision was made to join the stockmarket, there was unlikely to be a cut-off date on membership accounts opened before the formal announcement. "We would not be in the same position as Woolwich," she said.

The building society sector has been plagued by the wave of "hot money" inflows as investors try to take advantage of conversion and flotation plans by opening numerous accounts with small balances. Woolwich raised its minimum required balance to £500 last summer.

Woolwich members will receive shares worth between £750 and £1,000 when it floats late next year, but 35,000 members who opened accounts after 31 December are not eligible for the give-away.

Alliance took action before Christmas to stem the flood of speculative money into new accounts by raising its minimum required balance to £5,000, and replacing its instant access account with a deposit account

for new investors. Along with Nationwide, Alliance has been one of the building societies most widely-tipped to abandon its mutual status and become a bank listed on the stockmarket. Alliance therefore feels it has taken enough action in the past to keep new inflows under control.

Alliance investors will receive some £850-worth of shares on its conversion to a bank. The float would value it at nearly £3bn.

If it goes ahead with the plans next month, the society would aim to put the vote to members as quickly as possible, with a view to making the switch to bank status by early 1997. This would be at about the same time as Halifax, which recently merged with Leeds Permanent, but before Woolwich.

Cardew supports PR rules

BY DAVID HELLIER

Anthony Cardew, one of the leading figures in the world of public relations in the City, said yesterday that he strongly supported the idea of the Bank of England and the Stock Exchange regulating his industry.

His comments, while not directed at any one firm, come in the wake of a Stock Exchange investigation, first reported in the *Independent*, into dealings in the shares of Caradon, the building products group, ahead of their half-year results last September.

The Exchange has, according to sources close to the investigation, listened to tape recordings of a telephone conversation about Caradon's financial performance between an employee at Robert Fleming, the investment bank, and an employee of Financial Dynamics, the company's financial public relations advisers.

The Exchange's investigation is trying to ascertain whether privileged information was passed on by the financial public relations firm to the investment bank and then whether any employee at the bank used that information for share dealing.

Robert Fleming declined to comment on the reported transaction last night and also declined to comment on reports that two employees had been asked to resign in the wake of the Exchange's investigation.

The Stock Exchange is expected to make a decision this week about whether to pass on the results of its inquiry to the Department of Trade and Industry, which could then further investigate any controversial share dealings.

Mr Cardew of Cardew & Company, whose clients include Eurotunnel, British Aerospace, Lloyds and Allied Domecq, said that he was one of a small minority of public relations consultants in the City that thought his industry needed to be more tightly regulated.

"I think it is an extremely important issue. There should be a licence granted to companies and individuals by the Bank and the Stock Exchange, backed up by a strong disciplinary code, which can be withdrawn if somebody breaches the rules. Firms like mine are constantly in receipt of confidential information and should be exposed to the same sanctions as bankers or stockbrokers."

Many in the City's public relations industry are talking about the possibility of a future Labour government tightening up and even imposing statutory regulation on their companies.

£8bn debts: Governments accused of 'massive non-delivery of promises' on revenue from railway services

Eurotunnel turns up the heat in latest crisis talks

DAVID HELLIER

Sir Alastair Morton, co-chairman of the troubled Channel-tunnel operator Eurotunnel, is set to intensify his campaign this week to press the UK Government into helping him secure a refinancing of the company's £8bn of loans.

He wants the Government to join him and the group's bankers at the negotiating table in talks on how to help the company over its latest crisis.

One day last week, rumours that the troubled company could be about to be declared insolvent sparked a substantial fall in the company's share price.

Sir Alastair and the company's other co-chairman, Patrick Ponsolle, are set to write this week to their respective transport and finance ministers, asking them to renegotiate Eurotunnel's contracts with the two countries.

"It's clear that pain is going to have to be endured by the group's banks and its shareholders. We believe that the government should be taking an equal share of the pain, given the assurances it gave right at the start of the project," a source close to the company said yesterday.

Sir Alastair and Mr Ponsolle believe their case for getting the UK Government to sit at the negotiating table depends on promises made by the British Government at the outset of the project, backed by a

letter sent to the group's main Japanese bank backers shortly after the contractors, TML, had been awarded the tender to build the tunnel in 1986.

The Thatcher letter is said to have contained a series of assurances and promises to the Japanese bankers which the Eurotunnel co-chairmen believe have not been kept to.

Although there was not an unambiguous guarantee of a government bail-out if the project went awry, many of the Japanese bankers are believed to have interpreted the Thatcher letter as a letter of comfort.

Eurotunnel believes the British Government has fulfilled fewer of its promises than its French counterpart. But the French government will be approached too.

"We are planning to ask the two governments to renegotiate and discuss how they will make up for the massive non-delivery of promises given by them in respect of income that would flow from the half of the tunnel capacity that they demanded in return for the tunnel concession when it was first granted," Sir Alastair said over the weekend.

increase in the £200m-a-year minimum payment from the British, French and Belgian railways for the capacity which they demanded when the company was originally granted the concession.

Eurotunnel may also ask for an extension of the tunnel's 65-year concession, which would give its backers extra comfort should they decide to put up new money.

Eurotunnel suspended interest payments on its junior debt in September last year and since then it has been desperately trying to negotiate a financial restructuring with its bankers.

One likely option now being considered is a debt-for-equity swap which may see the banks ending up owning more than 50 per cent of the group's equity as well as its debt.

In one scenario - detailed in banking documents distributed to the company's backers in September - the banks, assuming shuttle revenues only 10 per cent lower than independent forecasters, would not envisage getting their money back and accrued interest on the project until 2052.

The banks leading the discussions over the restructuring are National Westminster, the Midland, Credit Lyonnais and Banque Nationale de Paris.

The banks are also being independently advised by Coopers and Lybrand, who have a team that specialises in financial restructurings.



Sir Alastair Morton, co-chairman of Eurotunnel, is set to write to transport and finance ministers this week.

Watchdogs in new pension row

NIC CICUTTI

A furious row has broken out between the Consumers' Association and a leading financial services regulator over a deal which risks leaving tens of thousands of victims of the pension transfer scandal without compensation.

The consumer watchdog has accused the regulator, the Personal Investment Authority, of watering down its instructions to financial advisers involved in the mis-selling of personal pensions.

The row, over letters advisers must send out to clients who might have been given bad advice, will drag in Treasury ministers. They have backed the

new agreement, announced on Friday, between the regulator and specialist insurers.

Professional indemnity insurers, who will foot most of the compensation bill for pensions mis-selling, have waged a bitter campaign against the original form of the letters because they stated that victims had a right of redress.

The insurers' opposition sparked a mass boycott by financial advisers of the pension review first ordered by the regulator nine months ago. After months of talks, the PLA gave way to insurers last week, and removed any reference to compensation from the letters.

The Consumers' Association yesterday attacked the deal as

a climbdown that would lead to far fewer victims having their cases reviewed to see if they are entitled to any compensation.

Philip Telford, a senior researcher in the CA's money policy group, said: "We are keen to see any blockage cleared so that the review can be carried out. But we would also be very disappointed at any weakening of the original review letter. The reality is that many people do not respond to these letters even when prompted. Taking away the part about compensation removes an incentive for them to do so."

He added: "One must also ask why it is that the PLA has changed what must clearly have been its preferred letter. If the

wording was right in the first instance, why is it not so now? There seems no doubt that [the PLA] backed down under the instructions of the insurers."

The PLA claimed its change of mind broke the logjam preventing hundreds of thousands of urgent cases from being reviewed. Joe Palmer, PLA chairman, said: "I am very pleased that constructive discussions with a number of leading insurers will enable the review process to go ahead."

The insurers had argued that to send letters telling people they might be entitled to compensation meant inviting claims against themselves. They feared the prospect of paying out hundreds of millions of pounds, in

Offers for assets pour in to Granada

MATHEW HORSMAN

Granada, the television and leisure giant, has been inundated with offers for the assets it intends to sell if it wins a £3.3bn hostile bid for Forté, the hotels and restaurants group.

According to sources close to Granada, "the interest is huge and we have been overwhelmed by inquiries." At least six seri-

ous buyers have emerged for Forté's motorway service areas, of which two are believed to be management buy-out groups. Granada expects between £250m and £300m for the operations. Bids for Forté's up-market hotel chains, Meridien and Exclusive, are also believed to have been proposed by trade buyers, including Bass, ITT-Sheraton and Marriott.

But sources denied reports that Accor, the French hotels and travel company, was in the late stages of agreeing a £1bn deal to buy a package of Forté hotels from Granada if the hostile bid succeeds.

"Certainly Accor is in the frame," said one source. "But at this stage, nobody is ahead of anybody else." Accor was a compelling bidder to Forté for

Air France's Meridien chain in 1994, but offered less than Forté's £240m. An announcement of an agreement this week, in advance of the 23 January bid close, would be "icing on the cake," a Granada spokesman conceded yesterday. "But that is very, very unlikely."

An agreed deal at a good price would be enough to clinch

Granada's offer for Forté, analysts said. The bidder is already upped to have done enough to secure victory, following its raised offer last week. But there are still doubts about its £2bn disposal programme.

Forté has dismissed the plan as a fire-sale. Granada hit back yesterday, calling on Sir Rocco Forté, the chairman and chief executive, to justify his own asset sales, which include the sale for £1.05bn of Forté's restaurants and Travelodge hotels to Whitbread.

Following the acquisitions, Forté would be "over-exposed to a sector of the hotel market which is highly cash consumptive and vulnerable to a downturn in the economy," Granada's chief executive, Gerry Robinson, said. "I have no doubt that 'new' Forté shares would trade at a substantial discount" to the Granada offer, he said.

Forté responded that its "pure hotels company" would benefit from the upturn in the hotels cycle that is now under way.

IN BRIEF

Storehouse chairman

Storehouse, the Mothercare and BHS group, will announce that Alan Smith is to become non-executive chairman. Mr Smith, a former Kingfisher and M&S director, joins the board immediately and will take over from current chairman Ian Hay Davison. Chief executive Keith Edelman remains responsible for day-to-day management.

Time for change

Three out of four members of the CBI want Britain to move an hour forward to western European time, according to a survey by the employers' organisation. But enthusiasm diminished the further north the business; 72 per cent of Scottish respondents said they would oppose the move.

No more shutdown

John Kasich, chairman of the House Budget Committee, said that Republicans would not force another shutdown of the Federal Government.

Forte family trust backed Thatcher

A charitable trust set up by the Forté family donated £30,000 to Margaret Thatcher's right-wing think tank in 1994, according to documents seen by the *Independent*.

The donation was the largest of 50 listed by the Forté Charitable Trust, one of four trusts linked to the Forté family, founders of the luxury and hotels group, writes **Matthew Horsman**. All told, the trust gave £174,000 to charities in 1994, the last year for which information is available.

Unlike the three other charitable foundations linked to the Forté family, which receive services from Forté plc, the public company, the Forté Charitable Trust is nominally independent.

Its directors are Sir Rocco Forté, the company chairman, his sister Olga Polizzi and George Proctor, a senior executive director. The £30,000 payment to the Thatcher Foundation is the only overtly political contribution listed in the documents.

The Thatcher Foundation has received contributions from several prominent right-wing business people, including Walter Annenberg, the billionaire philanthropist and former US ambassador in London. Other likely supporters include Li Ka-shing, the Hong Kong-based property developer.

A £250,000 donation came in 1991 from Nippon Telegraph and Telephone, following Mrs Thatcher's far Eastern tour. Additional funding is believed to come from the former prime

minister's speaking engagements in the US and elsewhere.

Her foundation was established in 1990, and is dedicated to promoting her views on privatisation, small government and lower taxes, particularly to audiences in Eastern Europe.

The Foundation offers advice to governments on investment, technology transfer and training. Hopes of raising as much as £10m have not been met, but contributions are believed to be sufficient to finance what is still a modest operation.

STOCK MARKETS									
FTSE 100									
Index	Close	Week's chg	Change (%)	1995/96 High	1995/96 Low	Yield (%)			
FTSE 100	3857.30	-47.2	-1.3	3720.60	2954.20	3.93			
FTSE 250	4024.60	-48.6	-1.2	4080.10	3300.90	3.64			
FTSE 350	1816.40	-28.0	-1.5	1849.60	1482.40	3.87			
FT Small Cap	1959.32	-0.3	-0.0	1932.11	1878.61	3.17			
FT All Share	1798.42	-21.0	-1.2	1821.21	1489.23	3.81			
New York	5061.12	-120.3	-2.3	5216.47	3832.90	2.30			
Tokyo	20287.42	-361.6	-1.8	20699.02	14465.41	0.751			
Hong Kong	10540.01	+10.1	+0.1	10573.90	6087.93	3.561			
Frankfurt	2356.45	+24.6	+1.1	2356.45	1910.96	1.811			

Source: FT Information

INTEREST RATES									
UK interest rates									
Bank of England base rate	6.00								
3 month	6.50	6 month	6.75	12 month	7.00	2 year	7.25	5 year	7.50
10 year	7.75	15 year	8.00	20 year	8.25	25 year	8.50	30 year	8.75
US interest rates									
Federal Reserve discount rate	5.50								
3 month	5.50	6 month	5.75	12 month	6.00	2 year	6.25	5 year	6.50
10 year	6.75	15 year	7.00	20 year	7.25	25 year	7.50	30 year	7.75
Money Market Rates									
Index	1 Month	3 Month	6 Month	9 Month	12 Month	18 Month	24 Month	36 Month	48 Month
UK	5.47	5.31	5.84	6.03	7.48	8.63			
US	5.86	5.58	5.76	7.68	8.17	7.79			
Japan	0.44	0.56	2.99	4.64					
Germany	3.66	3.34	2.91	7.52	6.72				
Bond Yields									
Index	1 Month	3 Month	6 Month	9 Month	12 Month	18 Month	24 Month	36 Month	48 Month
UK	5.47	5.31	5.84	6.03	7.48	8.63			
US	5.86	5.58	5.76	7.68	8.17	7.79			
Japan	0.44	0.56	2.99	4.64					
Germany	3.66	3.34	2.91	7.52	6.72				
MAIN PRICE CHANGES									
Index	1 Month	3 Month	6 Month	9 Month	12 Month	18 Month	24 Month	36 Month	48 Month
UK	5.47	5.31	5.84	6.03	7.48	8.63			
US	5.86	5.58	5.76	7.68	8.17	7.79			
Japan	0.44	0.56	2.99	4.64					
Germany	3.66	3.34	2.91	7.52	6.72				

CURRENCIES									
\$/£									
Index	Close	Week's chg	7d %	1m %	3m %	6m %	12m %	18m %	24m %
US	1.5472	-0.050	-3.2	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5
DM	1.5465	-0.042	-2.7	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5
Yen	2.2289	-0.204	-9.1	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4
Yen	162.575	-10.249	-6.3	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5
Yen	83.3	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2
\$/DM									
Index	Close	Week's chg	7d %	1m %	3m %	6m %	12m %	18m %	24m %
US	1.5472	-0.050	-3.2	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5
DM	1.5465	-0.042	-2.7	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5
Yen	2.2289	-0.204	-9.1	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4	-2.4
Yen	162.575	-10.249	-6.3	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5	-1.5
Yen	83.3	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2

Winner of the Crime Writers' Association's **GOLD DAGGER AWARD** for the best crime novel of the year

THE MERMAIDS SINGING

VAL MCDERMID

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HarperCollins Publishers



GAVYN DAVIES

'More troubling from Tony Blair's point of view is that the word "stakeholder" is something of a term of art which has acquired a specific meaning for certain people on the left, and their interpretation may not be music to Mr Blair's ears'

Tony Blair puts meat on the stakeholder bones

Until Tony Blair's speech in Singapore last Monday, most people probably thought that a stakeholder economy was one in which everyone holds a lottery ticket. Not any more. The Labour leader caused quite a stir with his promise to create an economy "run for the many, not for the few... in which opportunity is available to all, advancement is through merit, and from which no group or class is set apart or excluded."

Mr Blair explained to David Frost yesterday that he intends the term "stakeholder" economy to be an umbrella concept, under which a multitude of more specific policy initiatives will comfortably sit. Not only will it offer a basic litmus test for new policy ideas as they arise, but it is also intended to persuade the electorate that Labour has a "big idea" to set in competition with the more brazenly laissez faire approach of the Conservatives. Note that the term stakeholder applies to the economy in Mr Blair's lexicon, to emphasise its toughness, while the term "one nation" is applied to the vaguer concept of society.

The Conservatives quickly recognised the danger of allowing the stakeholder concept a free run. But, as has been their recent habit, they were initially in two minds about how best to attack it. Michael Portillo was first out of the blocks, telling the nation that Mr Blair was simply mimicking the Thatcherite creed 16 years too late. Soon after, Michael Heseltine took an entirely dif-

ferent tack, claiming that this idea was Old Labour reincarnated, with powers being restored to the trade unions and other pressure groups. The fact that Mr Blair's speech had contained not one single word about the unions, or any other form of pressure group, was a disadvantage for the Heseltine interpretation, but this has nevertheless become the accepted Tory line. This will probably not worry Mr Blair too much - he is awfully hard to paint convincingly in Old Labour colours. Perhaps more troubling from his point of view is that the word "stakeholder" is something of a term of art which has acquired a specific meaning for certain people on the left, and their interpretation of its meaning may not be music to Mr Blair's ears.

One interpretation of the term is that championed by Will Hutton of the *Guardian*. He sees in it a new view - at least for the Anglo-Saxon economies - of the structure of the firm. In the US and the UK, the rights of the owners of the firm, the shareholders, are not only seen as sacrosanct, but company directors are required by law to protect them. This gives shareholders a primacy over other groups, such as employees, customers, or indeed the local community from which the firm derives its support services. Flowing from all this, it is claimed by the left, is the short-termism bred by Anglo-Saxon stockmarkets and the takeover culture. It is quite possible to imagine free market economies in which private firms do not

operate in this way. In fact, Germany is one such example - a genuinely free market economy, but paradoxically one which requires directors on supervisory boards to represent all the interest groups that come together in a firm, not just the shareholders. The absence of any significant influence from the outside capital markets is said to have encouraged a long-term approach to investment decisions, employment practices, and customer relations. Many in the Labour Party want to see the next government take legislative action designed to import the German system of corporate governance into the UK.

So far, Gordon Brown has been very cautious about making specific commitments in this area, and yesterday Tony Blair went out of his way to rule out any change in corporate legislation. This caution is amply justified. For one thing, the two industrial economies that are built most conspicuously on the stakeholder concept of corporate control, Germany and Japan, are probably the two countries facing the most severe economic difficulties at the moment. This is mainly because both economies are plagued by overvalued currencies, which have nothing to do with the stakeholder system - but it is difficult to make a convincing political case for copying either of them just now. More important, any attempt by the Labour Party to change the statutory

rights of shareholders, or to sanction the appearance of workers on company boards, would instantly play into the hands of Michael Heseltine, and justify his remarks about restoring power to the unions. Whatever the merits of the case, which are dubious anyway, it is not worth taking this considerable electoral risk - the avoidance of egregious error is probably all that is now needed to ensure a Labour election win.

There may, however, be some aspects of corporate reform which are safe ground for New Labour. It is important to distinguish sharply between measures which would trespass on the ownership rights of shareholders, which would be political death, and measures which encourage the representatives of shareholders, whether company managers or investing institutions, to display more long-termist behaviour. Mr Blair may have had this latter category in mind when he said that companies should no longer be bought and sold like commodities - a reference to Labour's plans to introduce a "public interest" criterion into the takeover code. Restricting hostile takeovers, and encouraging long-term shareholding through the tax system, are likely to be politically acceptable ways to encourage a stakeholder mentality in industry.

This leaves us with a further problematic interpretation of the stakeholder concept - that related to the welfare state. No sooner had Mr Blair sat down in the Far East than

maverick Labour MP Frank Field was claiming the speech heralded a root and branch reform of pensions and benefits. It is certainly true that the present welfare system does not protect workers from summary restriction of pension and unemployment insurance "rights" which they believed the state had bestowed. While it is unthinkable in a free society for the state to rescind individual property rights - indeed they are so deeply-rooted that they have often re-emerged in eastern Europe after 50 years of communism - the same is not true of the communal pension and benefit rights bestowed under a democratic welfare state.

One way of remedying this problem is to require individuals to build up their own "provident accounts" on the Singapore model of forced savings. These can be used for unemployment insurance, education, pensions and even housing. Since they are individually assigned accounts, and fully funded by supporting investments, they cannot be lightly cancelled by the state, and would certainly be compatible with a stakeholder economy. But would a generation which is already heavily taxed to pay for the unfunded pensions of its parents now vote for a second dose of forced savings to pay for their own pensions as well? It seems rather doubtful, to put it mildly. This may be another area where New Labour needs to proceed cautiously as it puts meat on the bones of the stakeholder idea.

Why the Germans are learning the g-word

VIEW FROM BONN

German economists are spending a lot of time these days trying to define the word "recession". In the Anglo-Saxon world, you need two successive quarters of negative growth to qualify for this dubious honour.

In Frankfurt, one quarter is usually enough, while the politicians in Bonn try to maintain that the concept barely has a German translation. Boom-and-bust economics is something that the British and Americans have. The last recession here was in 1993, and the next dip in the cycle was said to be at least another three years away.

The government is there-

Patriotism out of fashion as capital hedges its bets

fore finding it very hard to explain what is happening now. In the last quarter of 1995, the economy at best stood still, or, according to the leading institutes, contracted by between 0.3 and 0.7 per cent.

The present quarter is forecast to be no better. Come April even the government might have to enrich its vocabulary with the "r-word".

In the meantime, the voters are being blinded by science. We are, the technocrats explain, in the middle of an M-shaped curve. Output will start soaring again in the second-half of the year, powerfully enough to pro-

duce an annual growth rate of 2 per cent. Unfortunately, Germans are aware that Bonn vastly overestimated last year's figure, and are now more inclined to believe gloomy predictions of a measly 1 per cent growth rate in 1996.

While this numbers game leaves the average person confused, the unemployment statistics need little deciphering. The headline figure rose by over 200,000 last month to 3.8 million.

As the downturn devours thousands more jobs, the Rubicon represented by the four million mark will be crossed next month, perhaps sooner. The jobless rate will then go into double figures for the first time since the post-war "economic miracle". It will require another miracle to bring it down again to levels to which Germans are accustomed.

The trauma of mass unemployment is already keenly felt. The despondency experienced by easterners since reunification is beginning to grip the west, as leading opposition politicians raise the spectre of the "British disease" starting to infect Europe's last truly industrial society.

"Where have we gone wrong?", Germans ask in the bemused manner of all those other Europeans who have been posing the question for decades. The label "Made in Germany" still sells well, boost-

ing exports even in the disastrous last quarter. But like Japan Inc., which has had to subcontract some of its work to cheaper lands afar, the high concerns in Germany are also discovering greener pastures abroad - often, as in the case of Siemens, on the other side of the English Channel.

The arguments in favour of relocation are familiar enough: the native worker is too expensive, his or her work pattern too inflexible, the taxes on employment are the highest in the developed world, and regulations concerning all aspects of production are stifling.

Conservative politicians tend to distill all these factors into one single item: wages. The German worker, however thorough and efficient he might be, is simply too expensive. This argument has won many adherents in these times of uncertainty, even in the engineering union IG Metall.

For the first time since the War it is prepared to bargain away future pay rises in return for new jobs. But this line of reasoning has one deep flaw: the great names of industry are not migrating to the likes of the Czech Republic or Taiwan where skilled workers can be picked up for a pittance. Instead, they are building plants mainly in the US and Britain - countries where the cost of labour is admittedly lower than at home, but not low

enough to justify the move on its own.

The real reason lies elsewhere, and its consequences are far more terrifying for the Germans. Since the War, a large part of German industry has operated in a cosy cartel, with a pattern of cross-ownership

and large share stakes held by the big banks and the state which would have made a central planner proud. Short-term profits were routinely shunned in favour of long-term gains - to the benefit of the whole country and its enviable social market economy.

Now the priorities seem to be shifting. Proximity to markets in an ever-shrinking world has become a new goal, escape from the stranglehold of the upwardly mobile German mark another. Patriotism has gone out of fashion as capital tries to hedge its bets.

This trend is accelerating. While industry has lost, according to government estimates, 700,000 jobs since 1983, this year alone some 200,000 jobs are expected to abandon the country.

As in Britain in the 1980s, the government in Bonn pins its

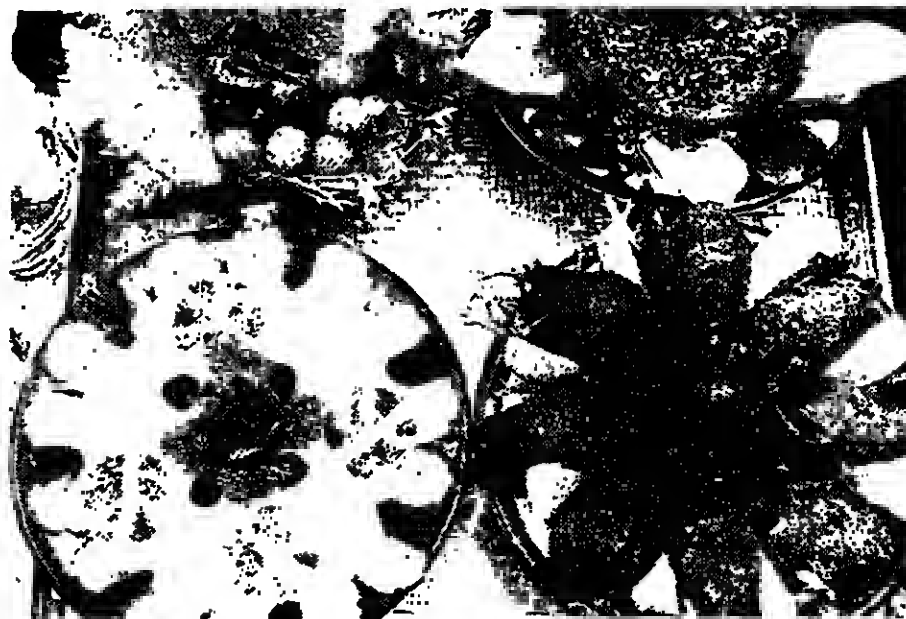
hopes on the expanding service sector. But, as in Britain, services will not be able to soak up all the surplus labour.

For a country whose wealth has been built on industrial harmony, that could be devastating. For Germany's economists, who thought they knew everything that was to be known, there is another new word to be learnt, a g-word: globalisation.

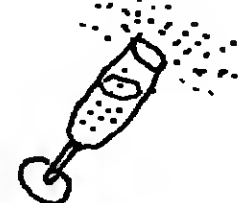
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business

New general takes the field in trolley wars

Dino Adriano, the rising star at Sainsbury's, is sitting, with a cigar in one hand, in his bare, smoke-filled lair on the executive floor at Sainsbury's functional head-office building near Blackfriars Bridge in London.

He looks pretty relaxed for someone who has only just been catapulted into one of the most important jobs in British retailing.

As a result of last week's board room re-shuffle, the 52-year-old former accountant has been promoted to deputy chief executive of Sainsbury's UK supermarket business. Next year he will move up to the chief executive slot, following the retirement of Tom Viner, and run the whole show.

Then it will be Mr Adriano, rather than David Sainsbury, who will do battle with Archie Norman at Asda and Terry Leahy at Tesco in the sharp-elbowed trolley war that is UK grocery retailing.

The heavily-built self-confessed foodie, who is of Italian descent but was born in London, claims he is ready.

He comes to the job at a difficult time. The past year has seen Sainsbury's out-maneuvred by rivals and losing market share.

But he says, "I'm very excited about it. It will be a challenge - but I think I'm ready for it. We have a good team here and there is a determination to make things work."

Some critics say that Sainsbury's has lost its way, held back by an old-fashioned, conservative culture over which the founding family still looms large.

Mr Adriano concedes that Sainsbury's has made mistakes. "Our performance over the last year suggests that we are not delivering on some of the key points. We have had some supply difficulties. But it is on the execution and communication of our strategies that we have really fallen down and

Dino Adriano became deputy chief executive of Sainsbury's UK supermarket business in a board room re-shuffle last week. As he prepared for the new job, he took time to talk to Nigel Cope



David Sainsbury, left, will step back from the front-line of the grocery retailing battle when Dino Adriano, right, takes over as chief executive of the UK supermarkets business

'He's Mr Homebase, but how much does he know about supermarkets?'

that's where we need to come back strongly. I think we have already started to do that."

His view is that Sainsbury's needs to concentrate on the fundamentals on which it has built its reputation: quality products, at decent prices, in clean, well-presented stores. It's hardly a ground-breaking strategy but the trick is in the execution, he argues.

He denies that Sainsbury's conservative culture is a worry. "I don't think the fact that it's a family company makes any difference," he says.

"As a business we have always been careful before we

launch significant campaigns. But we are tremendous executors and we need to be fleet of foot as well." He admits: "You could say that in the area of communication some of our rivals have scored some points on us."

Mr Adriano sees nothing necessarily wrong with management by committee. "Obviously if they become fossilised that's a mistake. They need to be dynamic. If I find the need to change things, I will."

He describes himself as a strong-willed general manager who dislikes prevarication. But he prefers to take a team with

THE MONDAY INTERVIEW

DINO ADRIANO

him rather than rule with a rod of iron. He is the kind of manager most analysts feel Sainsbury's needs.

If there is a criticism, it is his lack of supermarket experience. He spent most of his early Sainsbury's years in various accounting functions.

Most recently he has been chairman of the Homebase DIY chain where he has been overseeing the integration of Texas Homecare. Until moving

into the new job, his only previous spell to supermarkets was the three years between 1980 and 1989 when he was one of the area directors.

As one analyst said: "He's known as Mr Homebase and he's done very well there. But how much does he know about supermarkets?"

Sainsbury's points out that Mr Adriano is also chairman of Shaw's, the group's US supermarket business, and is on the board of Giant, the Washington group in which Sainsbury's has a stake.

However, it has recognised the weakness, which is why there will be a near-two year handover by Tom Viner as he approaches retirement. Mr Adriano will not succeed to the supermarket throne until the end of 1997.

His priority is to get round the stores - to re-familiarise himself with the nuts and bolts of supermarkets - and prepare himself for taking charge.

"It won't be new to me. I love food and have worked in a supermarket. I'm looking forward to it."

It has been a slow but steady rise. He was born in West London, the son of a musician who played the accordion and who later became a kind of impresario, booking artists to play in Italian restaurants. "It was a large family and very musical. Music is a big part of my life."

'Committees need to be dynamic'

It was his grandparents who left Italy for Britain in the early part of the century. There is a history of catering in the family and his grandfather on his mother's side was head waiter at the Hyde Park Hotel.

School saw a steady if not spectacular performance, first at Highgate College in North London and later a grammar school.

He left with O levels, though

he says he can't remember how many. He then joined a small accountancy firm but could not afford the articles, so settled on becoming a certified accountant instead.

He didn't enjoy it - "too stuffy" - and ended up writing a speculative letter to Sainsbury's asking for a job. "They didn't have an accountancy training scheme at those days but that's really what it was."

Married to Sue, a teacher, and with two daughters - one of whom works at Sainsbury's as a buyer - Mr Adriano obviously enjoys his hobbies. He loves his food and also enjoys opera.

His other great love is football. He is a season ticket holder at Arsenal and has been going to Highbury for 40 years. He has also maintained a long association with Oxford where he is a trustee.

Of course in his new, elevated role, he may have slightly less time for those outside interests - except, perhaps, the food.

Nigel Cope

BT brings City into battle with OfTel

MARY FAGAN
Industrial Correspondent

BT is preparing for battle with its watchdog, OfTel, with briefings for City institutions on the effects of proposed new price controls and other regulatory change.

The company has contacted or visited its top 20 to 30 investors over the last few weeks in what one source called an "educational tour". The move emerges only days after Sir Peter Bonfield, BT's new chief executive, promised a "roller coaster" year on the regulatory and competition fronts.

Relations between BT and Don Cruickshank, director general of OfTel, have reached an all time low. Some in BT believe that Mr Cruickshank is intent on breaking the company up. One source said: "Mr Cruickshank is not in favour of competition. He is in favour of BT's competitors."

The main subject of BT's City briefings have been the implications of the lower rate of return that Mr Cruickshank is expected to use in setting new price controls. There have also been discussions over his proposals to take on "sweeping" new anti-competitive powers.

BT must reach agreement with the regulator on both counts or face a reference to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

The proposals by Mr Cruickshank to take on a more general competition power - which he believes is vital for the development of the industry - is the most pressing issue for BT. The company, which is increased at the plan, must respond by 2 February.

The changes to the price controls must be agreed around the middle of the year or, again, the matter might be referred to the MMC. There is a view that an MMC reference on some grounds, for which Mr Cruickshank would set the terms, is becoming almost inevitable. In launching his consultation on the price controls last month, Mr Cruickshank warned that he expects sharp efficiency gains from the company, which has shed 100,000 jobs over the last four years.

The paper issued at the time made it clear that in calculating the exact controls, he will use a lower rate of return than the 15 per cent assumed today. One analyst said the proposals would be "nasty" for BT, adding: "OfTel is saying BT's profit levels can be lower than they have ever said before."

BT emphatically denies that it is lobbying against OfTel. A spokesman for the watchdog has said that Mr Cruickshank is doing his duty as he sees fit and would continue to do so.



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Value		Weekly		Index		Value		Weekly		Index		
Ind	Stock	Price	Chg	Ind	Stock	Price	Chg	Ind	Stock	Price	Chg	
822	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	823	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	824	Gold Am Smt	292
823	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	825	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	826	Gold Am Smt	292
824	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	827	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	828	Gold Am Smt	292
825	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	829	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	830	Gold Am Smt	292
826	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	831	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	832	Gold Am Smt	292
827	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	833	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	834	Gold Am Smt	292
828	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	835	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	836	Gold Am Smt	292
829	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	837	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	838	Gold Am Smt	292
830	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	839	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	840	Gold Am Smt	292
831	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	841	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	842	Gold Am Smt	292
832	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	843	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	844	Gold Am Smt	292
833	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	845	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	846	Gold Am Smt	292
834	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	847	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	848	Gold Am Smt	292
835	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	849	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	850	Gold Am Smt	292
836	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	851	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	852	Gold Am Smt	292
837	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	853	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	854	Gold Am Smt	292
838	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	855	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	856	Gold Am Smt	292
839	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	857	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	858	Gold Am Smt	292
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842	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	863	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	864	Gold Am Smt	292
843	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	865	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	866	Gold Am Smt	292
844	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	867	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	868	Gold Am Smt	292
845	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	869	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	870	Gold Am Smt	292
846	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	871	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	872	Gold Am Smt	292
847	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	873	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	874	Gold Am Smt	292
848	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	875	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	876	Gold Am Smt	292
849	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	877	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	878	Gold Am Smt	292
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851	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	881	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	882	Gold Am Smt	292
852	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	883	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	884	Gold Am Smt	292
853	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	885	Gold Am Smt	292	+1	253	886	Gold Am Smt	

Young talent acts as magnet for art world

John McKie previews the opening of London's biggest contemporary show

International art experts are expected to converge en masse on London this week to see what Britain's brightest talents have to offer at Art 96, the country's biggest contemporary art fair in the city regarded as the most exciting contemporary centre in the world.

For the eighth year of the show, 83 galleries are displaying 100,000 works from today's stars including the Turner Prize winner Damien Hirst, and their successors. Opening on Wednesday at the Business Design Centre, in north London, they expect around 30,000 visitors, and have prices from as little as £30 up to more than £100,000.

Lucy Sicks, director of the fair, said: "The London contemporary art scene is internationally renowned as being the most exciting centre for art. There are things here that no one else in the world has."

"I think it is going to be the best yet, because the overall quality of the work is the strongest it's been. It's a brilliant opportunity for the public to come along and see everything from Hirst to works worth £30."

"Some of the other fairs are much older and the people who go are established collectors who spend enormous amounts. With this fair it's easier for people to collect."

Although the Hirsts displayed may be works on canvas instead

of his controversial tanks of sheep or cows, there is some more outlandish work on display such as Jann Hayworth's *Snake Lady* (a sculpture of a woman made from snakeskin materials) and the first public showing from Gibby Bean, dubbed "the Vivienne Westwood of the art scene".

Among the 83 galleries showing are White Cube, run by Jay Jopling, who represents Hirst and the Turner Prize runner-up Mona Hatoum, and Flowers East, which is displaying work from Nicola Hicks, Lucy Jones and the Gulf war artist Peter Howson. Photography and print galleries are also taking part.

Art 96 aims to nurture new talent to succeed the likes of Hirst, Hatoum and the 1993 Turner Prize winner, Rachel Whiteread. Richard McDowell, a 27-year-old student from Wimbledon School of Art, in south-west London, has won a competition to construct a giant white fabric sculpture — the size of a full-scale building — on the green outside the centre.

The winner of the new Wingate award of £4,000 to help young artists in their studies will be announced on Wednesday and there will also be a £1,000 prize and an exhibition at Habitat's store on the King's Road, in Chelsea, west London, for the best artists on an MA painting course.



For those who cannot get to the fair, a new computer archive service could give them the chance to stay closely in touch with the art dealers.

Banca dell'Arte, pioneered in Italy and France, is being

brought to Britain for the first time.

Banca dell'Arte, whose site at Art 96 is sponsored by the Independent, promises to be the quickest way yet of viewing works of art and expects to have 500 dealers linked up to its system by the end of the year. The system allows art to be seen, bought and sold on any personal computer with a modem and only takes 15 seconds to access — faster than the Internet.

"It's exactly the same time it takes to make a phone call or send a fax," Tim Badgett, director of Banca dell'Arte, said. "The images are then delivered in 15 seconds. Instead of the dealer or buyer having to fly to London, New York or Paris, or waiting to be sent photographs, here they can go on line and view the gallery's stock."

The fair is having a gala opening tomorrow, when Paloma Picasso is flying over to be the guest of honour at an AIDS benefit preview at the Business Design Centre. As well as the artists' being present, there will also be video messages in support of the AIDS cause from celebrities including Ringo Starr, All McGraw, Sir George Solti and Topol, star of the musical *Fiddler on the Roof*. Art 96 is at the Business Design Centre, Islington, London N1, Wednesday 17 January to Sunday 21 January.



Beautiful Edie (displayed above left and being crated at Flowers East, above), a straw and plaster sculpture by Nicola Hicks. Photographs: Steven White / Tony Buckingham



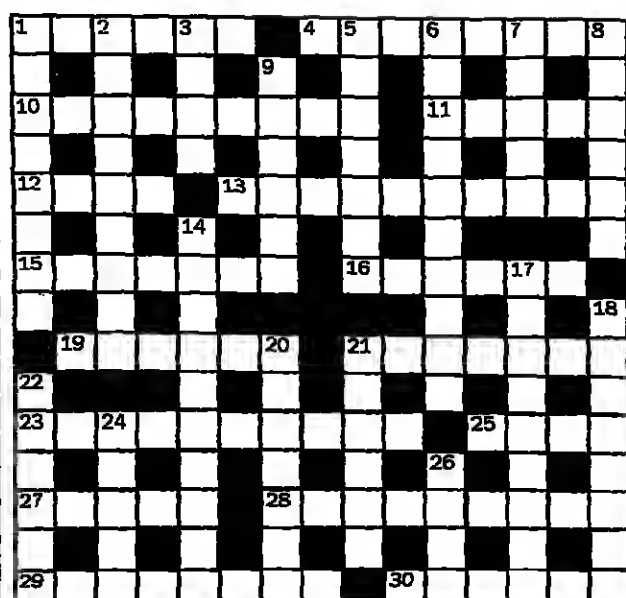
River Walk, an oil painting by Lucy Jones, being show by the Flowers East Gallery

THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD in association with



No.2883, Monday 15 January

By Fortia



28 Relatives are exceptionally resourceful (9)
29 Colour match three-quarters are divided about (3,5)
30 Cash substitute (6)

DOWN

1 Outfit for spring? (8)
2 Serotonin is converted into this hard substance (9)
3 One is relaxed at it (4)
5 Host is kind of tense (7)
6 Advance payment is fixed by record company of sorts (10)
7 Foreigner a Welsh girl is attached to (5)
8 Access course? (6)
9 Unfortunate that equality is without support (6)
14 A number tend to run things (10)
17 State requirement (9)
18 Lines written about individual Italian painter (8)
20 French male's right to occupy own port (2,5)
21 He watches nurse go by (6)
22 Hear of ways to reach Aegean island (6)
24 Lake in Kenya safe to cross (5)
26 Academic honour for composer (4)

ACROSS

4 Sociable tradesman? (6)
5 He deserts American after Greek character returns (8)
10 Nonsense — it's still produced illegally (9)
11 Raised objection about one pupil (5)
12 Cut length out to make belt (4)
13 I can perhaps claim to be going out of loyalty (10)

15 Elected by fraternity according to the rules (2,5)
16 Pluck a species of grass (6)
19 Sounds like Shakespeare's spirit is unearthly (6)
21 Weight of compass is surprising (7)
23 Together with worker is receiving attention (4,2,4)
25 Pastry layer not quite round (4)
27 Sketch comes from duke's large collection (5)

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Published by Newspaper Publishing PLC, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London E14 5DL
and printed at Mirror Colour Print, St Albans Road, Watford
Monday 15 January 1996. Registered as a newspaper with the Post Office

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